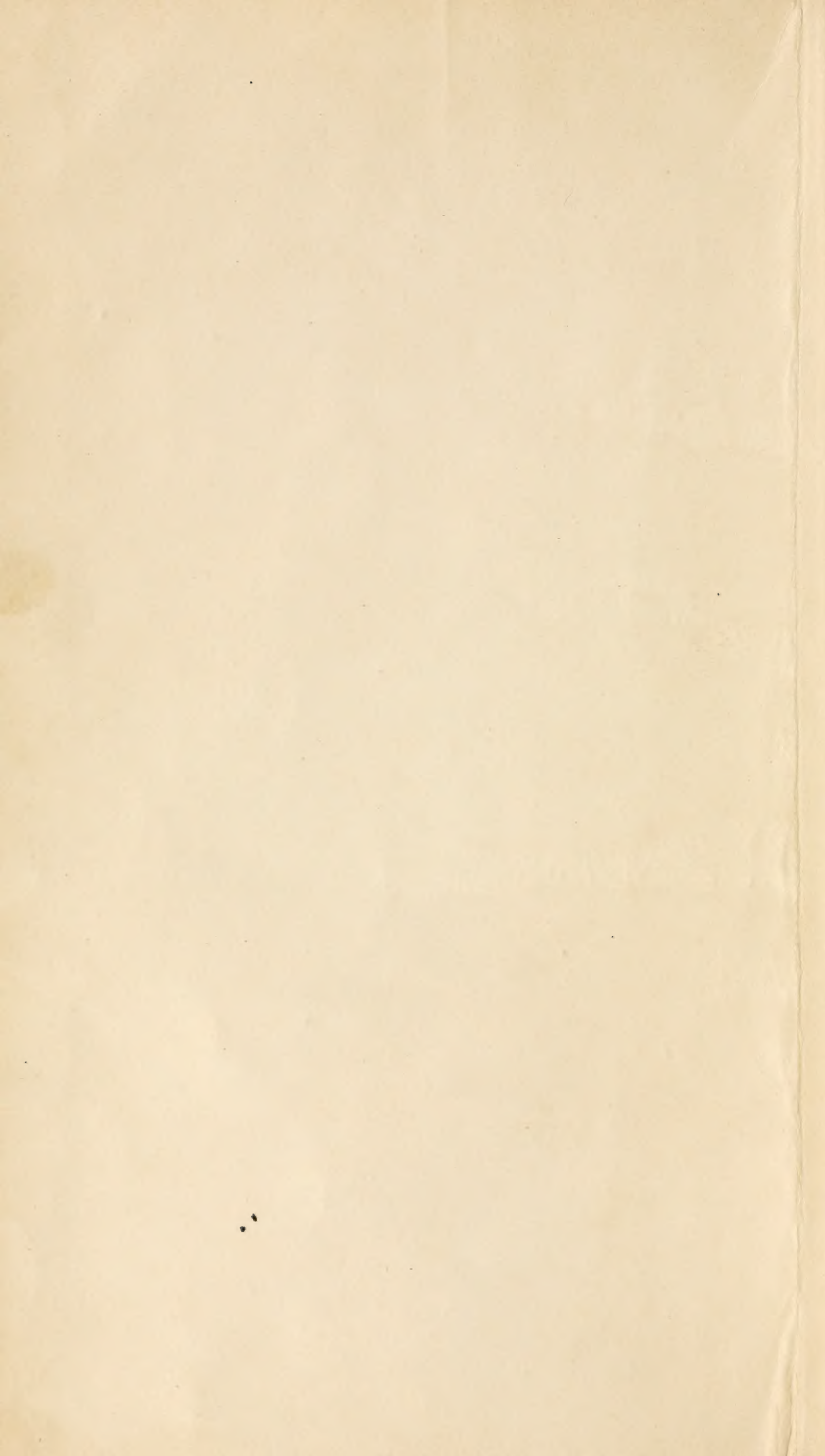




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# HISTORY OF MONETARY SYSTEMS:

A RECORD OF ACTUAL EXPERIMENTS IN MONEY MADE BY VARIOUS  
STATES OF THE ANCIENT AND MODERN WORLD, AS DRAWN  
FROM THEIR STATUTES, CUSTOMS, TREATIES, MINING  
REGULATIONS, JURISPRUDENCE, HISTORY,  
ARCHÆOLOGY, COINS, NUMMULARY  
SYSTEMS, AND OTHER SOURCES  
OF INFORMATION.

BY

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## PREFACE.

THE author concluded a former work on Money in these words :—“ That which has engaged the attention without harmonising the convictions of such master minds as Aristotle, Plato, Tycho Brahe, Copernicus, Locke, Newton, Smith, Bastiat, and Mill, is surely a study which none can afford to approach with rashness, nor to leave with complacency. When the principles which underlie it are thoroughly understood, money is perhaps the mightiest engine to which man can lend an intelligent guidance. Unheard, unfelt, unseen, it has the power to so distribute the burdens, gratifications, and opportunities of life that each individual shall enjoy that share of them to which his merits or good fortune may fairly entitle him, or, contrariwise, to dispense them with so partial a hand as to violate every principle of justice, and perpetuate a succession of social slaveries to the end of time.” I begin the present work in the same spirit with which I closed the former one, that is to say, without bias concerning any system of money, and only anxious to examine and profit by the experience of the past.

The scope of the work includes a recension of my former chapters on India, Greece, and Rome, a continuation of the Roman history from the monetary system of Augustus to the downfall of the Empire, and an examination of the Merovingian and Carolingian systems, the Moslem systems, the systems of Britain from the earliest times to the reign of Edward III, and the systems of Saxony, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Germany, and the Argentine Republic.

As the monetary conflicts of to-day turn mostly upon questions concerning the relative value of gold and silver,

the origin, nature, tendency, and influences of this Ratio and its amenability to legal control, I have taken especial pains to trace its historical development in all ages of which any coinage or other numismatic remains exist. In carrying out this design a mass of information has been brought together which can scarcely fail to be of service in future monetary discussions.

The origin and progress of Private Coinage has also been an object of attention. Private coinage, or, as it is now euphemised, "free" coinage, namely, the license granted to private individuals to coin the precious metals without limit, or to compel the State to make coins for them and to confer upon such coins the legal functions of money, coupled with license to export and melt down the coins, was unknown to the ancient world. In the great states of antiquity money was a pillar of the constitution. In the republics of Greece and Rome it was a social instrument, designed, limited, stamped, issued, and made current by the State,—in short, invented, owned, and regulated by the State. It is now generally admitted that the so-called *gentes* coins of Rome were not of private fabrication, but issued by the State, and stamped with the *gens* mark of the State moneyers. There appears to have been no private coinage in Europe before the issuance of Mahomet's Koran and its scornful repudiation of the Roman religion and political system. The baronial and ecclesiastical mints of the middle ages, when not authorised by the German Empire, or by the princes of the Western States, were baronial or ecclesiastical only in name; they were really "robbers' dens," and were so termed in the official proclamations of the time. Their trade of private coinage was both surreptitious and unlawful, and was often expiated with the lives of the proprietors. The Plantagenet kings broke up some thousands of them.

After the fall of the Roman Empire in 1204 the prerogative of the coinage was exercised for a brief period



by the emperors of Germany, but soon afterwards fell to the various independent states that rose upon the ruins of the old Empire. In a process commenced by the procureur-général under Philip IV., against the Comte de Nevers, for melting down the coins of the realm, it was held that this was a royal prerogative which belonged to the king alone, and which in case of necessity he might employ, not indeed for his private advantage, but in defence of the State. The prerogative was, however, much more fully and completely laid down by Sir Matthew Hale in the celebrated case of the Mixed Moneys. Its unwilling surrender by the Crown took place under the Stuarts. Events have demonstrated that the Act is wholly inconsistent with the safety of the State, and that it demands revision.

¶ If in view of the existing monetary conflict, the reader should be led to inquire whether this is a "monometallic" or "bimetallic" work, the answer is, It is neither. These terms, and many others employed in the monetary literature of to-day, the author regards as misleading. They involve doctrines which are fallacious, and defeat a correct comprehension of this difficult subject, by promoting the discussion of false issues, or the adoption of make-shift or mischievous measures. Monometallism and bimetalism both imply that money consists of a metal or metals, and that this is what measures value. The implication is erroneous; the theory is physically impossible. (Value is not a thing, nor an attribute of things; it is a relation, a numerical relation, which appears in exchange.) Such a relation cannot be accurately measured without the use of numbers, limited by law, and embodied in a set of concrete symbols, suitable for transference from hand to hand. It is this set of symbols which, by metonym, is called money. In the Greek and Roman republics it was called (with a far more correct apprehension of its character) *nomisma* and *nummus*, because the law (*nomos*) was alone competent to create it. The

number of the symbols may be limited, but rudely ; the limit may even—though equitably it should not—be left to the chances of conquest or mining discoveries, still, repeated experiments prove that it is the number of the symbols that definitively measures value, not the quantity or quality or merit of the materials of which they may be composed. A ready proof that it is the numbers and not material of money which measures value is this : If the sum or integer of the symbols is altered, so will be the expression of value (the price) of all things ; whereas the material may be altered, *e. g.* from gold to silver, or from one to both, or from both to inconvertible paper, without at all affecting the expression of value—provided that the combined denominations or sum and legal function of the symbols remain unchanged.

These principles of money—namely, that Money is a Measure, and must be of necessity an Institute of Law, that the Unit of money is All Money within a given legal jurisdiction, that the practical Essence of money is Limitation, and that coins and notes alike are Symbols of money—are fully discussed and illustrated in my “ Science of Money.” It is true that at the present time their operation is greatly obscured by the license and abuse of Private Coinage, but even through this bewildering medium they can still be discerned. It is out of the confusion created by this practice, it is from the fallacy of mistaking metal (which, apart from numbers, cannot measure value any more accurately than barter can) for money (which, apart from metal, can and does accurately measure value) that all contentions on the subject have arisen ; nay, more, this confusion is to-day imperilling the peace of the world. The wheels of Industry are at this moment clogged, and what clogs them chiefly is that gross, that sensual, that materialistic conception which mistakes a piece of metal for the measure of an ideal relation, a measure that resides not at all in the metal, but in the numerical relation of the piece to the set of



pieces to which it is legally related, whether of metal, or paper, or both combined. In short, it is this misconception which is responsible for the Demonetisation of Silver in the Western world, and the consequences traceable to that event.

While such are the views of the author, he must do himself the justice to say that he has not laid his historical works under contribution to support them, nor has he any currency scheme to propose. To entertain, rightly or wrongly, a distinct conception of money, and the manner in which its function is mechanically fulfilled, is one thing ; to apply such conception to a given condition of affairs is another. This may only be done by the statesman, who is not satisfied to inquire what is correct, but must also know what is practicable and what is prudent. The political circumstances of each state have usually moulded, and must continue to mould, its monetary system ; and rash are those teachers who have sought or who yet seek to change it for any other reason or upon any other grounds.

These views indicate in another way the scope of the present work : it is not confined to gold money, nor silver money, nor paper money ; it embraces all money, and it seeks, by analysing the various experiments that have been made with this subtle instrument, to derive from them whatever light they may be able to throw upon the questions that vex us to-day. •





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## INTRODUCTION.

The genesis and evolution of money—Exchanges—Barter—Device of a valuing commodity—Its inconvenience—Baughs—Coins—Their defects—Nomisma—Its downfall—Coins subjected to further legal regulation—Money an institution of law—Its grammar—The use of this grammar as an historical guide.

THE custom of calling money *argentum* and calling *argentum* money (a custom still retained in France, Spain, Germany, and other former provinces of the Roman empire) originated in Greece, and was fixed in the Roman language by a series of monetary laws which extended over some fifteen centuries of time. The numismatic proofs of these laws are still extant in the great cabinets of Europe. To appreciate their importance and value it is necessary at the outset to rapidly sketch the genesis and evolution of money.

The earliest form of exchange, that which is peculiar to rudimentary or savage communities, was barter. To remedy those inconveniences of barter which were disclosed by a progressive civilisation, some given commodity of common necessity and production was selected in each community as a rude measure of the value of other commodities. Such measure, whether it consisted of a number of beans, cloths, shells, or lumps of metal, enabled any given exchange to be effected upon a more equitable basis than before, simply by its operation in holding a vast number of parities in view at once. With the growth of intelligence, this measure was also found to be defective; it lacked precision. The beans, shells, gold, silver, etc.,

being useful for other purposes besides a measure of value, the slightest difference in the size or quality of beans, etc., became matters of consideration during the act of effecting exchanges; and thus their effectiveness as such measure of value was impaired. A further improvement was thereupon devised by reducing the fractions of the measure of value to like sizes and weights and to a like quality or fineness. This could best be done with the precious metals; and thus a number of metallic pellets, sometimes rings (baugs), came to compose a measure of value.

But man can make nothing perfect. No sooner does he find a remedy for one ill than the remedy itself breeds other ills, till then unknown. The use of pellets and baugs promoted commerce, whilst increased commerce exposed the defectiveness of baugs. It was discovered that no matter what amount of labour was involved in the production of the precious metals, or of baugs, and no matter how carefully the latter were weighed or refined, their value or power to purchase other commodities was liable to enormous variation. The arrival or departure of a few loads of metal, the discovery or exhaustion of a mine, and many other circumstances, had the effect to rapidly alter the local value of baugs and upset all commercial calculations.

The remedy adopted for this defect was to localise the emissions and currency, or legal course, of baugs. Each city, colony, and trading community made its own pellets or baugs, and stamped its seal or private symbol on the emissions. This last act converted the pellets, or baugs, into coins. To render this device of home-made coins effective, it was necessary to forbid the use of all other coins. Here is where the law first came to the rescue of the local measure of value; and here is where nummular history begins.

The device of localised moneys exposed other ills and gave rise to other remedies, all tending toward the



solution of what seemed to be merely a mechanical problem. The ill that next developed itself was that one mint melted down and re-coined the issues of another; and thus resuscitated that defect of the measure of value which arose from suddenly increased or diminished supplies of the valuing commodity. To discourage such re-coinages, seigniorage was introduced; and this gave rise to numerous other legal regulations, the character and intricacy of which can best be appreciated by attempting to master any of the extant mint codes, ancient or modern.

After many experiments—we are now alluding to the era of Lycurgus—it began to be suspected that the monetary problem was not a mechanical one at all; that, unlike length, weight, capacity, etc., value was not an intrinsic or inalienable attribute of matter, and therefore that it could not be equitably measured by means of any commodity, as a commodity. What, then, was value? From that time to the present—that is to say, for nearly thirty centuries—the vaults of the earth have echoed this question, but vouchsafed no reply. The priests of Egypt, if they knew the answer, preserved it among their numerous mysteries of statecraft, to be sold to tyrants, or employed in the service of the gods. The seers of Chaldea and Greece, who disclosed to the Western world the majestic movements of the heavenly bodies, failed to recognise the nature of value; or else kept it an unwritten secret, that it might not be employed in the subversion of civil liberty.<sup>1</sup> “The function of money is to measure value,” declared the school of Lycurgus; but neither the Spartan sages nor the great Stagyrte, who in a later age voiced their philosophical maxims, ever registered a definition of value.

However, not to register a definition of value is not necessarily to be ignorant of its function. Though it has

<sup>1</sup> “Every truth or error which the word value introduces into men’s minds is a social one” (Bastiat, “Harmonies of Polit. Econ.”).

that of the commodities of which they were composed, and to a certain extent this effort succeeded.

In spite of these and other improvements, the Measure of Value (when it came to consist of coins, whose total number was irregularly lessened by loss, wear and tear, or melting, or increased by secret issues, or counterfeiting) could not be definitively and permanently fixed; hence it consisted essentially and teleologically of a commodity. From this fact arose the custom of calling money *argentum*.

Again it went its round of experiment. Again was it noticed that, as a commodity, it was but ill-fitted to measure the intricate and involved series of exchanges which are implied in the financial relations, contracts, speculations, inheritances, and property arrangements of commercial communities. It was also observed that coins, though made of but a single metal, failed to retain a more permanent value than that of the metal of which they were composed; and that this value rose and fell with every vicissitude of war, mining, mintage, commerce, and even fashion. Such a means of valuation might have answered well enough for simple and immediate exchanges, but it was clearly unsuited for the determination of future and involved ones, as the sale of growing crops, the rental of houses or farms, the repayment of loans, or the disposal of incomes by grant or testament. Consequently it was deemed necessary to subject the valuing commodity to further restraints of law.<sup>1</sup>

The type, design, inscriptions, metal, alloy, weight, size, and tale-relations of coins, the charges for coinage, the tax of seigniorage, and the degree, kind, and territorial extent of the legal tender function of coins had all been

<sup>1</sup> The discerning reader will at once detect that this rapid sketch of the evolution of money is drawn from its history in the Western world. Nevertheless money is very much more ancient than the Greek writers pretended, or some modern ones suppose.

regulated by law. Mining for the money metals was now added to these regulations ; taxation, State monopolisation, etc., being the means employed. The number of slaves permitted to work the mines was regulated. The importation and exportation of the money metals was regulated. The right to strike coins was limited to sacerdotal authority, and confined to the temples. The highest resources of art were bestowed upon the designs. Foreign coins were sometimes monetised, at others decried. The individual fabrication, counterfeiting, defacement, melting down, or hoarding of coins was prohibited. The use of the money metals in the arts was restricted or forbidden. Because gold and silver are twin metals, which in varying proportions are nearly always found together in the same matrix, and because their production cannot be regulated at man's will, but is subject to great vicissitudes from chance discoveries, military conquest, and other causes, their relative value, or ratio, cannot be determined like that of other commodities, but must be regulated empirically. To secure permanency in this ratio it was subjected to sacerdotal authority ; and we shall find that, as the result of this regulation, it remained fixed for centuries ; so that among the numerous guides to historical research afforded by the attributes of money, this is one of the most conspicuous and reliable.

Notwithstanding these various regulations, the stability of coins, as a measure of value, was still exposed to so much disturbance that further legal measures, of greater and greater complexity, were adopted to secure this important object. The principal disturbance was now created by the wear and tear and subterranean concealment or burial of coins, and the failure of slave-mining or foreign conquest to make good the continued loss of gold and silver metal. New and higher denominations of value were given by law to the same coins, and frequent recoinages had to be made, at great expense to the State and great risk of public disorder. The evil and expense

of re-coinage was attempted to be avoided by still further legislation. The weight and standard of the new issues of coins were lowered, as the denarii of Livius Drusus. Emissions were made of still more highly overvalued coins, like the bronze "sesterces" of the Roman Commonwealth and the plated coins of Claudius, Trajan, and Hadrian. Finally, as related elsewhere, moneys of account were created by law, called libras, sicilici, and denarii (£. s. d.). This was essentially merely an arithmetical scale of proportions that could be applied, without the necessity of re-coinage, to the perplexing variety of existing coins which had now obtained currency; and which, as a matter of fact, were applied not only to these, but also to measurements of land, of bread, and of other things.

It will thus be seen that money, whatever it consisted of originally, grew in time to be a complex instrument of societary life,—in short, an Institution of Law, designed to measure and determine value; and that its efficiency, precision, stability, and equitable operation depended largely, if not entirely, upon the strength, wisdom, and virtue of the government by whose laws it was created and regulated. Instead of the simple and easy subject which some modern economists have airily supposed it to be, its proper understanding involves, as has been shown elsewhere, the mastery of more than seventy separate legal institutes. These constitute what may be termed the grammar of money.<sup>1</sup>

For the purposes of the present work only a few of these institutes—those which are already most familiar to the reading public—have been employed. Chief among these are the names of moneys, the inscriptions upon them, their numismatic family-names, such as £. s. d., or ora, scat, styca, etc., the arithmetical relations of the

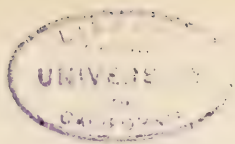
<sup>1</sup> They are enumerated at length in "Money and Civilisation," pp. 413-17.



family, whether binary, decimal, octonary, or duodecimal ; the law of legal-tender ; the authority to coin ; and the legal ratio of value between gold and silver.

The reader need not therefore be deterred from following the text through any fear of being perplexed or fatigued by technical terms or references. The lights by which he is asked to steer are few and plainly displayed.





# HISTORY OF MONETARY SYSTEMS IN VARIOUS STATES.

## CHAPTER I.

### INDIA.

Antiquity of money in India—Moneys of the Vedas—Braminical ramtenkis—Moneys in the Mahabarata—Money in Panini's sutras—Budhic coins—Moneys in the Code of Manu—The darics of Persia coined from Indian spoil and tributes—Indian expeditions of Alexander and Seleucus—Great antiquity of Indian civilization attested by Megasthenes—Bacchic or Budhic eras in Pliny and Arrian—Pre-Grecian moneys of India mentioned by the Greek writers—The monetary experience of ancient India lost through the perversion of its history—Scarcity of the precious metals after the Greek expeditions—Revival of gold and silver mining—Budhic interdict of mining—Shipments of silver from Rome mentioned by Pliny—Indian imitations of Roman gold coins—Coins of Julius Cæsar, Marc Antony, Augustus, and Claudius found in the topes—Epoch of copper and other base moneys—Cowries—Mahometan raids in India—The Quinto and other spoils sent westward—Continuation of copper and base metal epoch—Private coinage—Forbidden by Akbar—His attempt to establish silver money superseded by the East India Company—Moneys and revenues of the Grand Moguls—The Company's monetary system of 1766—System of 1769—Drain of precious metals from Europe—Suspension of the Bank of England—Monetary system of 1793—Sir James Steuart—System of 1800—System of 1835—Silver system of 1852—Issue of paper money, 1863—Suspension of Individual coinage, 1893—The ratio between gold and silver—Volume of money in India.

**T**HE superior antiquity of coined money in India is established by its mention in the Vedas, the Mahabarata, and the sutras of Panini. The Rig Veda Sanhita alludes to ten purses (*dusa kosaiyih*) of gold, ten pieces of gold, and the coins *dinara* and *niska*. The Mahabarata

frequently alludes to moneys, including "a crore of gold coins." Panini, who wrote before the Persian invasion of India, defines several monetary terms, among them *rupya*, from *rupa*, to strike. All these terms are still in use. The Buddhist scriptures contain numerous allusions to money; and although many of these may be anachronical, they, nevertheless, support the main argument. The antiquity of money in India is confirmed by other ancient writings, by ancient epigraphic monuments, and by the existence of "punch-marked" coins of a purely Indian type, which, though undated, are evidently older than the period of the Greek invasion, older than Buddhism, and, according to Wilson, Marsden, and Thomas, older even than the Vedic writings. A later series of Indian coins, stamped with Budhic emblems, are probably those referred to in the accounts of Arrian and Quintus Curtius.<sup>1</sup> Gold, silver and copper coins are frequently mentioned in the Hindu Code, or Institutes of Manu; the *ramtenkis*, or *ramatankahs*, probably belong to the Braminical epoch that preceded Buddhism; the archaic coins stamped with the figure of the Sun, countermarked by the Budhic emblems *chaitya*, *svastica*, cross, *bodhi-tree*, elephant, bull, etc., are certainly older than Buddhism; while those originally stamped with the *chaitya*, *svastica*, tau, cross, crook and lamb (or dog), and other Budhic emblems, are certainly of pre-Grecian date. These evidences will be found in the writings of Cunningham, Burnouf, and other English and Continental orientalists, many of whom are cited in my former work on this subject. Together they furnish ample basis for the conclusion that coins of the precious metals were used in India at epochs far more remote than can be attributed to any coins of the West.

The earliest references to India in Western literature allude to the conquests of Darius Hystaspes, and appear in Herodotus. Some reference to this era also appears in

<sup>1</sup> Sir A. Cunningham ("Coins of Ancient India," p. 49) regards the *kaltis* mentioned by Arrian as a gold coin of about 52 grains.



the emasculated pages of Trogus Pompeius and in the Life of Apollonia Tyanensis by Philostratus. The Indian karshapana (of silver) is mentioned by Hesychius.<sup>1</sup> About the year B.C. 525 Darius appointed Scylax of Caryandra to take command of a squadron of boats, fitted out at Caspatyrus, in the country of Pactya (the modern Pehkely), toward the upper part of the navigable course of the River Indus, and to fall down its stream until he should reach the ocean. The account which Scylax gave of the populousness, fertility, and wealth of that part of India through which he passed resulted in its being invaded about the year 521 by Darius himself; and although his conquests do not appear to have extended beyond the district watered by the Indus, he returned to Persia laden with spoil, after having imposed tributes, which were equal in amount to nearly a third of the whole revenues of the Persian monarchy. It was probably out of the spoil obtained from this expedition that Darius struck those gold darics which are mentioned in the Old Testament as darkonim, and which Mionnet regarded as the earliest coins of the Western world.<sup>2</sup>

The next earliest account of India which affords a groundwork for historical dates is derived from the meagre chronicles of its conquest by Alexander the Great and afterwards by Seleucus Nicanor, which appear in the pages of Strabo, Diodorus, Pliny, Ptolemy, Arrian, and other Western writers. Among the fragments which remain to us is the Bacchic (Budhic) era in Pliny,<sup>3</sup> which is confirmed by Megasthenes in Arrian's "India." This era has no historical value beyond what it derives from the period and circumstances of its preservation. It can scarcely be supposed that Megasthenes, who lived in India

<sup>1</sup> Sir A. Cunningham, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. Mel., 44; Justin, lib. ii; Philostr. Vita Apoll., lib. iii, c. 47; Olearius Tzetzet, "Chiliad.," vii, v, 630; "Hist. Mon. Anc.," p. 80; Cunningham, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, "Nat. Hist.," vi, xxxi, 5.

several years, preserved this very ancient date without at least believing vaguely in the great antiquity of the civilization to which it belonged—an opinion that now derives corroboration from other sources, such as comparative philology, the advanced state of the mechanic arts in India at the remotest date known to the West,<sup>1</sup> the antiquity of the Vedic scriptures, and the numismatic remains.

The earliest Indian coins extant are neither of gold nor silver, but of a mixture of the two metals. This mixture, the appearance of which probably marks an era when alluvial mines were succeeded by shallow quartz openings, carries us back to the ramtenkis of the Braminical epoch. The much later coins of Argos and Lydia are of the same material. This the Greeks called electrum—a name derived by them from its amber colour, and this, again, from the amber procured from the Veneti of the Baltic. The Japanese used similar coins so late as 1866. In the Braminical monetary systems the arithmetical relations were evidently decimal. One thousand copper panas equalled in value 100 silver retti, or 10 silver siccals, or 1 gold suvarna. The suvarna seems to have contained about 180 English grains fine gold, the siccal about 90 grains fine silver. If these premises are correct, 5 silver = 1 gold.

It is to the epoch following the Mahabharata wars (B.C. 1650, Pococke; B.C. 1367, Prinsep) that must be ascribed that severe dearth of the precious metals in India, which is evinced by the use of cowries and other commodity-moneys of illimitable supply, and of the practice of that strange abstention from the employment of the precious metals which is enjoined by the Budhic Ten Commandments of the Vinaya, and mentioned farther on. In the Brama-Budhic monetary systems of a period that comes within the scope of Western literature, the precious metals again crept into use. The principal piece of this

<sup>1</sup> For Indian articles in Egyptian tombs ascribed to fifteenth century B.C., consult Wilkinson.

period was called the dharana, and contained 140 grains fine gold; the silver siccā about 84 grains. Ten of these equalled in value 1 dharana, consequently the ratio was 6 silver = 1 gold. Siccals mean literally knife-money; the same root giving us scythe, sickle, scissors, chisel, and other words for cutting-instruments. There is reason to believe that from the eighth to the fourth century before our era the Indian ratios varied from 6 to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  silver = 1 gold in weight. As between Northern and Southern, or maritime India, the smaller ratio prevailed in the South, where it was probably about  $6\frac{1}{4}$  for 1. The prevailing ratios deduced by Leon Faucher from the most ancient monetary equivalents in the Code of Manu varied from 6 to 8 for 1.

In the time of Cyrus and Darius, of Persia, the monetary systems of India were probably based upon the gold dharana of about 130 grains fine, equal in value to 10 silver siccals of about  $84\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine each, a ratio of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  for 1. There were 5 silver masheh to the siccā.

Whatever these conclusions may signify to us in the future, they possess but little worth at present. The history of antiquity is obscured by mythology, and until this cover is removed from the story of the ages, no valid chronology can be arranged and no practical lessons gleaned from the cold lips of the distant centuries. Could the monetary experiences of India be gathered for the modern world they would prove of priceless merit, for India has evidently essayed and suffered everything in the way of monetary experiment. Unfortunately, its experience is lost in clouds of fable and historical perversion. As a basis for legislation it is essentially worthless, and the future of the East will have to be gathered from the experience of the West, for there the truth of history has been, at least, far less grossly violated.

The marauding expeditions of Darius, Alexander, and Seleucus again divested India of her hoards of the precious metals, this time to so great an extent as to lead, during

succeeding ages, to the almost exclusive use of copper for coins. Marsden (p. 53) finds numerous evidences of this in the altered Code of Manu; Thomas deduces the same conclusion from a study of the extant coins; while Pausanias went so far as to suppose (probably because the Indians of his day possessed but a scanty stock of the precious metals) that they were entirely unacquainted with money. In my former work on this subject, from which many of these circumstances and considerations are repeated, I followed Marsden and Thomas, and ventured to believe that such few coins as existed of the precious metals were valued in the baser coins, and used as multipliers for large sums of them, the groundwork of the system being copper coins. In spite of the Budhic interdiction of gold, this scarcity must have led to a revival of mining, as it certainly did to the establishment of a vast commerce with the West, both overland and by sea (chiefly through Egypt), the primary object of which, to India, was the recovery of the precious metals which she had lost through the inferiority of her arms.

In the time of Pliny the Indians took as much as fifty to a hundred million sesterces per annum in silver from Rome, and although this was largely paid for with merchandise, some of it was paid for with gold at a rate for silver that yielded the Romans nearly cent. per cent. profit.

Of the gold thus sent to Rome a portion was coined in India, in imitation of the Roman aureus, and specimens of this singular coinage are still extant. The writer has examined several of them, and found them to be rather paler in colour than the Roman gold coins, probably owing to the presence of a small proportion of silver in the native metal, which the Indians were unable to extract. Cowries were used for small change in India at this period. Some were found in the Manikyala tope, in the Punjaub, mingled with Sassanian and Roman moneys. Among the latter were coins of Julius Cæsar, with the



Star, alluding to his apotheosis ; of Marc Antony as Osiris, with the radiated head of the Sun, and of Augustus Filius Dei. The Arabian superscriptions on the Sassanian coins prove that the tope was erected in the eighth century of our era, so that these coins must have been preserved for three-fourths of a millenium, to be buried here for another millenium. Among the treasures of the Madras Museum is a gold coin of Claudius, struck to commemorate his conquest of distant Britain, which now—such have been the mutations of empire—is the suzerain of all India and its sovereign the Great Maharanee.

Whatever relief India derived from mining and trading for the precious metals was lost again after the eighth century, when the Moslem raids into that country began, because these coveted metals formed an essential part of their spoil, one-fifth of which was religiously sent to the Arabian caliph, while the remainder went to enrich the homes of the spoilers in Merv, Bagdad, and Damascus.

The Arabian merchant Suleiman, A.D. 851, said that in his time the principal money of Bengal consisted of billon dirhems, called tahiria or thaterya, which went for  $1\frac{1}{2}$  silver dirhems each. These, however, were of Arabian mintage, coined by the dynasty of Tahir, which began with Tahir-bin-al-Husain, A.D. 820. In the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, or diary of Minhaj-us-Siraj, A.D. 1242–4, it is stated that in Bengal cowries supplied the place of the chitals used in the north-west provinces.<sup>1</sup> At Calicut, on the coast of Malabar, the current money used by merchants in the foreign trade consisted of Genoese coins, which reached India by way of the Euxine and Trebizond.<sup>2</sup> The policy of prohibiting the exportation of bullion<sup>3</sup> also belongs to this interval, whose copper and other base

<sup>1</sup> Phayre's "Coins of Burmah," in *Num. Orient.*

<sup>2</sup> Anderson's "Hist. Com.," i, 224.

<sup>3</sup> Bell's "Geog.," iv, 476.

metal systems sufficiently attest the scarcity of silver and gold.

More interesting to us than perhaps any other feature of India's dimly-outlined monetary shifts is the private coinage of the precious metals, which appears to have grown up at this period.

Thomas<sup>1</sup> states that during the Mahometan era the sovereigns of the Deccan accorded to goldsmiths and other private individuals the right to coin gold and silver, provided, adds Sir J. Malcolm, that the pieces bore the royal devices. Marsden (p. 57) regarded this custom as of still more ancient date. Ferishtah<sup>2</sup> and Sir J. Malcolm<sup>3</sup> both describe the same custom. The latter adds that there were no limits to the privilege, the government merely exacting a seigniorage of about 2½ per cent. Such a privilege now goes by the name of Private or Free Coinage. Its origin, history, and consequences are of great interest to the Western world, which has permitted free coinage now for nearly three centuries, not without grave suspicions of its wisdom and equity. In one respect the free coinage of gold and silver in India at this period possesses no more significance to the sovereigns who permitted it than the free coinage of copper into tradesmen's tokens had in the Western world, in some states within the writer's memory. The metallic basis of the Indian monetary systems of this epoch was neither gold nor silver, but base metals. India had been so often plundered by foreign conquerors that it was not until after shipments of silver bullion commenced from America, about 1540, that she acquired enough of the precious metals to warrant her Moslem potentates in endeavouring to bring their monetary systems into correspondence with the Moslem systems of the West. This they did by coining gold and silver. It was Sher Shah who, in 1542,

<sup>1</sup> "Pathan Kings of Delhi," p. 344.

<sup>2</sup> "Bombay Text," i, 537.

<sup>3</sup> "Central India," 1832, ii, 80.

first struck the four-dirhem pieces, formerly called tankahs, and now first called rupees, and it was Akbar the Great, 1555–1604, who interdicted private coinage of the precious metals, and by whom a notable but abortive attempt was made to establish payments on the basis of silver coins struck by the government. However, it was not until a similar policy (of changing from copper to silver money) was pursued by the East India Company, in 1766, that it succeeded. Its accomplishment, as we shall presently see, was not only a severe check to the prosperity of India, it plunged the entire Western world into bankruptcy.

The Mahometan rulers of India would at any time have preferred to change the monetary basis from copper to silver had not the scarcity of this metal rendered the policy hazardous. A half measure—which, like most half measures in monetary systems, only engendered doubt and hastened the failure of the attempt—was substituted instead. This was the introduction of billon jitals of a value between the largest copper coin and the smallest silver multiple, and the use of these pieces as a common denominator of value. However, the legal ordinances or customs, which valued all gold and silver coins in copper ones, and thus based the monetary measure upon copper coins, were not abrogated; so that the requirement or custom of using the new billon pieces as a denominator, whilst it seemingly changed the pre-existing system, did not do so in reality.<sup>1</sup>

The new coin was known in the Punjaub as the delhiwalla, after the name of the place where it was fabricated. Elsewhere it was called the jital or chital. In the reign of Firoz Shah it was composed of about forty-two grains of copper, and from twelve to fourteen grains of silver, and derived its value from the legal regulation, which made it equal to a given number of

<sup>1</sup> The jital or chital is the common money of Hindostan, says the "Tabakat-i-Nasiri," "Pathan Kings of Delhi," 111.

copper coins. It was in these billon coins that all sums of money were expressed. For example, "a lak" (100,000) meant in Northern India 100,000 delhiwallas, or chitals; just as "a million" now means in France a million francs, in America a million dollars, and in England a million pounds sterling. The auriferous contents of the chital would require 10 to 12 of them to equal the adali, and 12 to 14 to the full weighted silver tankah. However, the actual value of the chital in silver coins can neither be determined *à priori* from the quantity of silver, nor its value in copper coins from the quantity of copper, it contained. Its value in both of these classes of coins was fixed by law, whilst its value in commodities depended on the whole number of chitals, indeed, the whole sum of money of which it formed a part, and by many other circumstances both in law and in fact.

In Bengal the system of copper money, with cowrie dividers and gold and silver multipliers, remained unchanged for a long period. It unfortunately happens that those who have communicated to us any knowledge of this system have valued the cowries, not in copper coins, to which they were nearest related by law, but either in the silver or gold ones, from which they were the farthest removed by law, but which were more familiar to our informants.

The common money of Bengal, says Ibn Batuta, an Arabian traveller of the fourteenth century, is composed of cowries. A bustus is a lak of cowries, and four laks go to a gold dinar. On other occasions he states the equivalent at twelve laks of cowries to the gold dinar.

In Orissa, which is the next kingdom south of Bengal, the following equivalents prevailed:—1 four-dirhem piece, or kahawan=10 silver masheh=20 puns=80 boories=400 gundas=1,600 cowries.<sup>1</sup> Skipping, in this place, over

<sup>1</sup> The kahawan varied from 16 to 20 puns. The etymology of the pun has been traced to the pani, or handful, but this may be a mere verbal



four centuries of time, and coming to the end of Moslem rule in India, to wit, the year 1740, a rupee, or four-dirhem piece, fetched 2,400 cowries; 1756, 2,560 cowries; 1814, 2,560 cowries<sup>1</sup>; 1833, 6,400 cowries; 1845, 6,500 cowries. Some of these figures are derived from accidental allusions in books of travel, and not from any systematic averages of the value of cowries during the years mentioned. Until the entire monetary systems of which these cowries formed a part are rescued from oblivion, particularly their relation to the copper coins, and the relation of the latter to commodities, their value in the silver and gold multipliers of the periods named can serve no practical use.

The system of Mahomet-bin-Tuglak embraced the following features:—1st, to alter the basic material of moneys from copper to silver; 2nd, to render money more abundant; 3rd, to levy the tributes in money instead of produce. Shaikh Mubarak, an Egyptian traveller of the fourteenth century, has left us a complete scale of the equivalents employed in this system, as follows:

*Monetary system of Mahomet-bin-Tuglak, A.D. 1324-51.*

4 copper fals	= 1 chital, or delhiwalla (or ani).
2 chitals	= 1 dokani, or sultani.
6 „	= 1 shah-ani.
8 „	= 1 hasht-ani.
12 „	= 1 durwazdah-ani.
16 „	= 1 shanzdah-ani.
64 „	= 1 silver tankah.

It is very evident that in this scale the chital or ani is the principal coin, and it must have been composed of copper plated with silver; for at 160 to 166 grains of silver to the tankah of this period<sup>2</sup> there could have been coincidence. The pun is still employed in Bengal as the equivalent of 80 cowries.

<sup>1</sup> Bell's "Geog.," iv, 520.

<sup>2</sup> Marsden, 36, and Thomas, P. K. D., 114.

been but  $2\frac{1}{2}$  grains of silver to the chital. The system of Mahomet-bin-Tuglak was, therefore, a copper one; and beyond the fact that this kind of money became more plentiful and available for the payment of taxes, it does not appear to have essentially differed from its predecessors, all of which were systems of copper coins, with a few gold and silver multipliers, the latter struck more for proclamatory purposes and show than for common use as money. Says Thomas: "The standard, if any distinct conception of its meaning as we understand it existed at all, seems to have been based upon the primitive copper currency, which was of such universal distribution as to be confessedly less liable to fluctuation than gold or silver." In another place he says: "The real prevailing currency of the realm consisted of billon money and copper pieces." In the reign of Tuglak's successor, Firoz Shah, the chital was raised, as before stated, to 12 to 14 grains of silver, combined with 38 to 41 grains of copper;<sup>1</sup> whilst in the reign of Bahlol Lodi, 1450-88, the tankah was debased until it contained but 56 grains of silver. A century later Sher Shah raised it to 175 grains, and called it the rupee. When Akbar, the sixth in descent from Timur, recovered Delhi from the Pathans, conquered the whole of north-west India to Kabul and Kandahar, and merged all these kingdoms, together with several provinces of the Deccan, into one great empire, he coined a rupee of  $170\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine, and established its value at 40 copper or billon dams, each weighing 5 tanks (not tankahs); the seigniorage on the rupee being  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. *ad valorem*.<sup>2</sup> These last he made some efforts to force into the circulation, and endeavoured to retire the copper coins; but the attempt was a distinct failure, not so much from a

<sup>1</sup> H. M. A., 104.

<sup>2</sup> In his earlier writings, Mr. Thomas reckoned 20 dams to the rupee; afterwards he was positive that there were 40 dams to the rupee. The last is right (Cunningham, p. 25).

scarcity of silver metal, which now came in more plentifully from America and Europe, as from the difficulty of changing the habits of the country. "Certainly in Akbar's time, when theory was more distinctly applied to the subject (of money), copper was established as the authoritative basis of all money computations."<sup>1</sup>

In Gibbon's account of Indian moneys, which formed a study for use in his great work on "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," he says that the rupee, a silver coin of the Grand Mogul, is common throughout India. Its weight varies from  $178\frac{1}{2}$  to 179 grains; its fineness 98 to 99 in the 100; its value in England about 2s. 6d. sterling; the gold rupee (mohur) is worth 30s. sterling. The ratio of silver to gold is  $12\frac{1}{2}$  for 1.

A lak (ten thousand) of rupees . . . .	£12,500.
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A crore (one hundred laks) of dams . . . .	31,250.
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A crore (one hundred laks) of rupees . . . .	1,250,000.
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An arrib (one hundred crores) of rupees . . . .	125,000,000.
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The dam is an ideal coin, valued at the fortieth of a rupee.

In the above account Gibbon made several blunders. The ratio of silver to gold was 10, not  $12\frac{1}{2}$ , to 1; because in the dominions of the Grand Mogul 10 silver rupees went to the gold rupee, or mohur, of precisely the same weight. The  $12\frac{1}{2}$  ratio was the result of a conflict, or average, between the gold and silver valuations (ratio) made by the East India Company and by the European States, but this had nothing to do with the system of the Grand Mogul. The lak was not 10,000, but 100,000. The dam was not an ideal, but an actual coin. When corrected, Gibbon's table would stand as follows:

*System of the Grand Mogul previous to 1766.*

5 tanks = 1 billion dam.

40 dams = 1 silver rupee of 175 grains fine.

10 rupees = 1 gold rupee, or mohur, of 175 grains fine.

Hence, ratio 10 for 1.

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas, P. K. D., 231.

Converted into English equivalents at the (English) ratio, which at that time was 15 for 1, a lak of rupees was worth about £10,000 ; a crore of dams £25,000 ; a crore of rupees £1,000,000 ; and an arrib of rupees £100,000,000.<sup>1</sup>

The history of the coinage in India, as in other countries, is inseparably connected with its political affairs. It was the spoils of Europe, gathered by Napoleon, that threw into the French mints the immense treasures which enabled their coinage to control the ratio of the commercial world for three-fourths of a century. It was the spoils of India, gathered by Clive, and coined for the benefit of his army, that (aided by other circumstances) led to the suspension of the Bank of England in 1797.

The spoliation of India began with the operations of 1749, and reached what might be termed its systematic phase after the battle of Plassy in 1757. Down to this time the legal-tender money of India consisted essentially of copper and billon coins. The demands of the victorious forces, now laden with the plunder of palaces, temples, and other receptacles, very naturally led to a large coinage of gold and silver. This began, according to Mr. William Winfred Webb<sup>2</sup> in 1759 ; it was rendered effective by the coinage provisions of 1766, which not only legalised the new issues but imposed no limit upon them ; in other words, they established the private coinage of gold and silver in the Company's mints, and practically demonetised copper and billon.

This system included a gold mohur of 179·66 grains, or 149·72 grains fine, valued at 14 sicca rupees. Both of these coins were made full legal tenders. The sicca rupees of Allum Ghir (1759) contained 175·8 grains fine silver. This was also the contents of the sicca rupee struck by the East India Company at Calcutta.<sup>3</sup> At 14 rupees to the mohur this made a ratio of 16·438 for 1. The rupees of

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon's Misc. Works, 4to ed., 1815, iii, 472.

<sup>2</sup> "Currencies of Rajputana," 1893.

<sup>3</sup> Kelly.



Shah Allum (1772) contained 175 grains fine silver.<sup>1</sup> At 14 rupees to the mohur this made a ratio of 16·364 for 1. Both of these ratios were too high, not only for India but also for England, indeed, for any country at that time. The consequence was that the sicca rupees were hoarded.

In 1769 the East India Company issued a new mohur of 190·773 grains, or 190·086 grains fine, to go for 16 sicca rupees. Compared with the rupees of 175·8 grains fine, this was a ratio of 14·81 for 1. According to Dow's "Ferishtah" (i, 37), the so-called bazaar value of silver, or rather the conflict ratio—between India and Europe—at this period, was 14 silver for 1 gold, so that even at 14·81 the mohur was rated too high. However, no practical difficulty resulted from this lack of precision, and the two coins circulated side by side until 1793.

In this year (1793) the East India Company issued a new mohur of 190·895 grains, or 189·4037 fine, and a new sicca rupee of 175·923 grains fine, valuing the mohur at 16 rupees. This was a ratio of 14·86 for 1. The weight of this mohur is given by Harrison from the records of the Mint, and it agrees with that of the "Nineteenth Sun" mohur published by Kelly. In this system, however, the silver rupees were the only full legal tenders, so that the ratio of silver to gold was of no practical importance.

The mistakes committed by the East India Company in endeavouring to unify the coinages of a multitude of native states were, perhaps, unavoidable; but they were unnecessarily aggravated by the unwisdom of the Company in soliciting the advice of Sir James Steuart,<sup>2</sup> who, in his work on this subject, not only evinced entire unfitness to expound or apply the principles of money, but offered them the observations of a pedant, when they needed those of a statesman. It cannot be too often repeated that before the British conquest of India the

<sup>1</sup> Kelly.

<sup>2</sup> "The Principles of Money applied to the present state of the Coin of Bengal," 1772.

money of that country consisted essentially of copper and billon coins, with a comparatively few multipliers of gold and silver. The blunder of 1766 was not so much in valuing gold too high, nor in making both gold and silver coins sole legal tenders, as it was in making coins of either of these metals sole legal tenders. The practical result of this enactment was to demonetise the bulk of the current money of India, and to cause a fall of prices in that country, which manifested itself in a desire to obtain possession of the precious metals at any sacrifice and in increased exports of merchandise to Europe.

The consequence was a large and steady drain of gold and silver from the West to pay for these exports. The mohurs and rupees coined at the mints of Calcutta and Bombay did not go to the people of India, but to the conquerors of that country ; and the people were left without the means of discharging their mutual obligations or of prosecuting trade, unless they procured such means from Europe. The British commercial statistics do not show the vast movement of the precious metals to India at this period because England was at war with France, and much of her trade fell into the hands of the Americans. Baron von Humboldt estimated the export to Asia toward the end of the last century as equal to more than £5,300,000 per annum, and of this amount the bulk went to India. It will hardly be denied that such a drain as this, aggravated as it was by the plunder of the French armies in Europe, had much to do with that scarcity of the precious metals at commercial centres, which culminated in the suspension of the Bank of England ; and it cannot be gainsaid that if a similar blunder is committed at the present time by demonetising silver and attempting to introduce a gold currency into India, it will be followed by somewhat similar consequences.

In 1800 the East India Company issued a new Bombay mohur of 179 grains, or 164·68 grains fine.<sup>1</sup> This coin is pub-

<sup>1</sup> Harrison.

lished by Kelly as the Bombay gold rupee of 1818. It was ordered to pass current for 15 rupees of the same contents; that is to say, current rupees of the Lucknow weight and standard, which Harrison gives at 165·2 grains fine and Kelly at 166·5 grains fine. Both the mohurs and rupees were made full legal tenders.<sup>1</sup> Henceforth the coinages of the East India Company were all directed toward a unification of East India gold and silver moneys on the basis of a mohur of 165 grains fine, to pass for 15 rupees of the same weight and fineness. It would detain the reader too long to describe the various changes that took place. Suffice it to say that in 1833 this unification was substantially completed, and that in September, 1835, the mohurs were demonetised, and the Company rupee of 180 grains,  $0\cdot916\frac{2}{3}$  standard, or 165 grains fine, were declared sole legal tenders throughout all British India. Mohurs continued to be coined of the same weight and fineness as the rupees, their nominal value being 15 rupees, while their actual value fluctuated with the price of gold metal. With slight interruption this system continued until the Company's authority in India was superseded by that of the British Government (in 1858), when the same system was adopted by the Crown, and continued without change until the suspension of free coinage for silver, 23rd June, 1893. The mohur and rupee, now called the Government rupee, are still struck at the same weight, namely, 165 grains fine. There were formerly many lighter rupees struck by native or Moslem rulers in circulation, varying from 147 to 164 grains, known as "current rupees," which were for the most part valued at 0·9195 Government rupees each, but have since been called in and melted down. A very full and precise account of them is published by Kelly.

Influenced by the native custom of private coinage mentioned above, perhaps also unconsciously by the operation of the British Mint Act of 1666, the East India

<sup>1</sup> Kelly, 94.

Company entertained and acted upon the delusive theory that money, whose volume may be limited, and metal, whose volume is practically illimitable, were one and the same thing—a delusion which is almost as rife now as it was then. Hence, following the legislation of Charles II., it threw open its mints to unlimited private coinage, levying upon such coinage only the slight seigniorage shown in the table below. After a series of experiments, commencing with the Company in 1766 and ending with the Crown in 1893, the government of India finally came to the conclusion that, in spite of the Act of 1666, there *was* a difference between money and metal, and it now seems determined to mark this difference by keeping the prerogative of coinage in its own hands and for the benefit of the empire at large.

*Seigniorage charged by the Mints of British India.*

Year.	Mint.	Gold.	Silver.	Remarks.
1821.	Madras.	3 $\frac{0}{100}$	4 $\frac{0}{100}$	Kelly's "Cambist," i, 91.
1821.	Bombay.	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	Ibid.
1821.	Calcutta.	2	2	and refining charge.
1835.	Calcutta.	2	2	do.
1837.	Calcutta.	1	2	do.
1844.	Madras.	1	2	do.
1844.	Bombay.	1	2	do.
1870.	Calcutta.	1	2	do.
1893.	All	—	—	ss. 19 to 26 Act of 1870 repealed.

Besides the British mints of India, there still exist many native ones, whose issues have not yet been subjected to British administration. These issues will be alluded to farther on. The currency of Barroda, Rajputana, Central India, and Hyderabad remains native to the present day, while Spanish dollars and other foreign silver coins still circulate in Upper Scinde<sup>1</sup>. It need hardly be stated that none of these native or foreign coins are legal tenders within the British possessions.

It was not until after the Crown assumed the Government of India that any systematic issues of paper money

<sup>1</sup> Harrison.



took place. These began with the organisation of the Paper Currency Department, March 1st, 1862. The following table shows the issues each year to the present time in crores of rupees.<sup>1</sup>

Year.	Issues.	Year.	Issues.	Year.	Issues.	Year.	Issues.
1863 .	4.52	1871 .	10.35	1879 .	12.69	1887 .	14.20
1864 .	5.11	1872 .	10.87	1880 .	13.80	1888 .	16.16
1865 .	7.48	1873 .	12.88	1881 .	14.33	1889 .	16.43
1866 .	7.40	1874 .	10.91	1882 .	13.90	1890 .	16.15
1867 .	9.96	1875 .	11.08	1883 .	14.50	1891 .	22.89
1868 .	10.32	1876 .	11.22	1884 .	13.39	1892 .	25.44
1869 .	10.30	1877 .	11.97	1885 .	14.54	1893 .	27.10
1870 .	11.31	1878 .	15.05	1886 .	14.71	1894 .	—

In a former work, after noticing the extravagant estimates that had been made by recent writers concerning the volume of metallic money circulating in India, I reached the conclusion that it was very much smaller than is commonly supposed. Mr. James Prinsep estimated the Indian coinages from the beginning of British rule down to 1835 at 77 crores British and 33 crores native currency. Writing in 1892, Mr. Harrison regarded this estimate as excessive, believing that the net coinages could hardly have exceeded the sum attributed by Prinsep to British money alone. Mr. Harrison's estimate down to 1835 is 75 crores, of which about one-half was either melted down in the arts, hoarded, or exported, leaving 38 crores in circulation as follows:—Lower Bengal, 7; Upper Bengal, 6½; Madras, 5; Hyderabad, 2½; Punjaub, 2; elsewhere, 15—total 38 crores. He goes on to show that from 1835 to 1891 the net coinages were over 300 crores, of which 77 were retained in the circulation and over 223 crores lost in the arts, hoarded, or exported. If to Mr. Harrison's 38, plus 77, crores of metallic money be added 30 crores for the paper circulation of 1895, his estimate will amount to 145 crores for the total money of all India. As to the circulation of native coins and bills

<sup>1</sup> Conf. Mon. Internationale, 1881, p. 205, and English blue-books.

of exchange (hundees), this would be to a great extent counterbalanced by the coin and bullion "reserve" withheld from circulation by the Currency Department.

The large proportion of the Indian coinage which is believed to have been melted down and absorbed in the arts, hoarded, or exported merits profound attention. From 1766 to 1835, a period of sixty-nine years, this is estimated at an average of one-half of all the metal (except recoinages) received at the mints. From 1835 to 1891, a period of fifty-seven years, it is estimated at three-fourths of all, or 223 out of 300 crores. The systematic destruction of from one-half to three-fourths of the Indian Measure of Value is a circumstance that, absorbed in the petty conceit of "unifying" moneys and measures, appears to have wholly escaped the observation of Indian statesmen; yet it is of far greater importance than any other circumstance connected with money. The following table shows the total supplies of the precious metals in the Western world, and the portions respectively retained for money and consumed in the arts, hoarded, lost, or exported to Asia since the discovery of America. (Continued from the author's "History of the Precious Metals," p. 185) :

*Total product of gold and silver in the Western world (including £103,000,000 obtained from Japan in the seventeenth century by the Portuguese and Dutch); the total stock of gold and silver coins in the Western world; the total consumption in the arts, etc., and the proportion per cent. of the consumption to the product.*

SUMS IN MILLIONS OF POUNDS STERLING.

Date.	Cumulative supplies to date.	Gold and silver stock at date.	Cumulative consumption to date.	Per cent. of consumption to supplies since last date.
1675	509	250	259	50
1700	592	297	295	50
1776	1054	275	779	74
1808	1314	380	935	71
1828	1441	313	1128	78
1838	1510	270	1240	82

Date.	Cumulative supplies to date.	Gold and silver stock at date.	Cumulative consumption to date.	Per cent. of consumption to supplies since last date.
1850	1675	400	1275	76
1860	2040	560	1480	72
1870	2365	720	1645	70
1876	2564	740	1824	71
1879	2687	618	2069	77
1883	2853	700	2153	75
1894	3472	750	2722	78

From this table it will be seen that about three-fourths of the total supplies have gone into the arts, or have been hoarded or lost, or exported to Asia. As to the latter we have already seen that three-fourths of these have also been absorbed by the arts, hoarded, or exported. It may be added that such exportation was for the most part to China, Japan, and other Asiatic States.

As to the supplies which are likely to be derived from Indian hoards, upon which so much reliance is placed by some writers on money, the evidence submitted on this subject to the Indian Currency Commission of 1892 settles the matter beyond further dispute. This evidence was derived from thirty years' records of the Bombay and Madras Mints, which show the native coins and ornaments, separated from other bullion, deposited at the mints for coinage. The average annual deposits of ornaments in the Bombay Mint were valued at about 27 laks of rupees. During the famine years, 1877—80, they rose to 148 laks a year; in good years they sink to almost nothing. The statistics of the Madras Mint are to the same effect; the recovery of the precious metals from hoards in India does not exceed the proportion that it assumes in other and far richer States; and this proportion is too small to be relied upon as a source of replenishment for the currency.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the House of Lords, August 7th, 1893, the Lord Chancellor said that the evidence which was given before the Committee on the currency question conclusively proved that there were no such hoards of

With regard to the ratio of value between silver and gold in India, it appears likely, from passages in Agatharchides, Strabo, and other authors, that in very remote times these metals bore the same value, and were mingled in the coins of India, as they were down to a comparatively recent period in Japan; that during the Vedic epoch gold was valued at four times that of the same weight of silver; that during the Braminical epoch the ratio was 5 silver for 1 gold; and during the Budhic epoch 6 for 1. But these are inferences which as yet rest upon slight foundations, and, therefore, which must only be held tentatively until more certain light can be thrown on the subject. With more assurance it may be believed that from the time of Darius Hystaspes to the twelfth century of our era, the Eastern ratio centred at about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  for 1. From this period to the discovery of America there appears to have been effected a slight but unsteady rise in the relative value of gold. At the period of the discovery the ratio in India was about 7 for 1. In the course of two centuries it was raised to about 10 for 1, and so remained until the East India Company began to coin, when it was suddenly enhanced to about  $16\frac{1}{2}$  for 1, lowered to 14 (in 1821), and fixed at 15 for 1 in 1835, where it remained until the Western silver demonetisation of 1871-73. The details may be consulted in chapter xx. Since the beginning of the present century the Indian ratio has been made little more than a reflex of the European ratio. The ancient oriental value of silver is gone, and whatever it may be in future will depend, not at all upon its superior value as compared with Western ratios in the past, but upon what the Western nations may determine. The Empire of the East is ended.

silver in India, as the Earl of Northbrook and others seemed to imagine. In times of emergency, no doubt, a large quantity of silver ornaments were pledged; but it was equally certain that trade in silver ornaments had greatly depreciated of late years.



## CHAPTER II.

### ANCIENT PERSIAN MONEYS.

The gold daric of Cyrus and Darius—Imitated in the Greek, Roman, and Sassanian coinages—The *£ s. d.* system also originated in Persia, and was copied by Rome—Coinage in Persia a sacerdotal prerogative—Etymology of the daric probably astrological—The siccal, or shekel—The money talent—Allied to the tael and the silver thaler or dollar—Confusion of the money and weight talent by modern writers—Monetary systems of Cyrus and Darius—Gold coins only struck by independent princes—The Persian ratio of value between the precious metals.

FROM the period of its foundation under Cyrus, B.C. 533, to its destruction under Darius III., B.C. 331, the Persian (and Median) empire was almost continuously at war with the Greeks. That this was not a mere empty contest for supremacy is evident from the events that marked its close. These prove that the struggle, though it was greatly stimulated by religious hatred, had for its object the possession of the land-route to the Orient, for it ended when that route was secured by Alexander. This monarch not only placed it under Greek control, but also added to it the sea-route, with its great emporium at Alexandria.

The empire of Alexander and his successors of the Seleucidan line, in Persia, lasted until B.C. 250, when that country was wrested from the Seleucidæ by the Parthian Arsacidæ, whom Strabo and Justin regard as a Scythian dynasty, but who Arrian and the archæological remains indicate came of a mongrel race partly of Greek descent. By these kings was Persia governed until A.D. 226, when the successful revolt of Ardeshir, or

Artashatr Babekan (Artaxerxes) grandson of Sassan, terminated the Parthian dominion, and restored the Persian government and the Magio-Zoroastrian religion of Cyrus and Darius. It is true that the Parthians were also Zoroastrians, but their religion, originally little more than pure deism, had become so greatly corrupted by Greek polytheism that it resembled its prototype even less than the Magian corruption of the Sassanians.

As shown in the story of Zoroaster<sup>1</sup>, Ardeshir's assumption of the sacred title Malkan-Malka, or Shah-in-Shah (king of kings), was in ill-keeping with his pretence of desiring to restore and purify Zoroastrism, because the latter, in its purity, acknowledged no king of kings other than the Creator of the Universe. Beginning with such lofty pretences and backed by an army whose cavalry alone numbered 170,000, it occasions no surprise that Ardeshir should next have had the temerity to make war upon all-powerful Rome. However, the contest (reign of Alexander Severus) ended without decisive results on either side.

In relation to the coins of the Sassanian dynasty Noel Humphreys, the numismatist, and George Rawlinson, the historian, both commit the mistake of supposing that the weight of the gold coins followed that of the Roman aureus, whereas, in fact, both of them followed the daric of Cyrus. This coin contained 136 English grains standard or 129.275 grains fine, which is also the weight of the Sassanian coins. The Roman aureus of Julius Cæsar contained 131½ grains. The obverse of the coins of Ardeshir bears his portrait and the legend "By the Grace of God (Mazdiesn), Ardeshir, King of the Kings (Malkan Malka) of Persia (Airan)." The reverse has the flaming altar of the fire worshippers and the legend "Artashatr, Ies-dai," or the Incarnation of God. Some have "Divine (Bagi) Artashatr, King of Kings, or God-descended (Ies-dan)." His successor, Sapor I., A.D.

<sup>1</sup> "Story of the Gods," chapter on Zoroaster.

240-73 (in the early part of whose reign Armenia was lost to the Roman Empire), styled himself "Celestial germ of the gods." It was this heavenly germ who playfully caused Manes, the apostle of Manichæism, to be flayed alive and his skin stuffed with straw and exposed at the gate of the capital, where Epiphanius says he saw it himself. It is very likely that the Roman emperor Valerianus, who fell into his hands, shared a like fate.

Down to the reign of Hormisdas II., A.D. 302-9, the emblems and legends of the Sassanian coins showed little variation; after that they assumed an Indian type, with emblems of Siva and his Bull, etc. Sapor II., A.D. 309-79, added to his impious titles that of Almighty (Toham), which is the same as Nissus, one of the names of Budha. The line of Sassanian incarnations ended with Ies-digerd III., a youth whose celestial extraction failed to protect him from the sharp edge of a Moslem sword, beneath which he ingloriously expired, A.D. 651.

Briefly speaking, the monetary system of Persia under its native rulers was almost identical with that of England at the present day. Twelve copper coins went to the silver shekel of about 84 grains fine, and 20 shekels to the gold daric, making a ratio between the metals of 13 for 1. The gold coinage was monopolised by the Shah-in-Shah, or sovereign-pontiff, and the tributes were payable in silver at the weight-ratio of 13; the ratio in India at the same time being  $6\frac{1}{2}$  for 1. Rawlinson's views on this subject, and those of the authors from whom he quotes at tedious length, are entirely at variance with the facts. Queipo, Mommsen and the numismatists generally are much more reliable authorities.

The average contents of the 33 gold darics of early Persia in the cabinets of Europe, weighed by Queipo, was 8.342 metrical grammes, and, as corrected for loss of weight by attrition, 8.376 grammes, or 129.275 English grains. This is somewhat heavier than a modern English guinea

or American half-eagle. The average weight of 142 Persian silver siccals, shekels, or darics was 5·444 grammes, or 83·96 grains. The name daric, as applied to the principal gold and silver coins of this period is probably due to the effigy of a kneeling archer, which is stamped upon them, Danaus being the Indian name for that Sign of the Zodiac. Madden, however, thinks it comes from dari, or daru, the king. The name siccals, or shekel, is mentioned by Xenophon and Hesychius, the former of whom said the Persian shekel weighed  $7\frac{1}{2}$ , and the latter 8 Euboic or Attic oboles. This obole weighed 0·71 grammes, or 10·958 grains. Hence, the Persian shekel should weigh from  $7\frac{1}{2}$  to 8 times as much, or 82·185 to 87·664 grains—a literary conclusion perfectly sustained by the weight of the extant coins. As, according to Herodotus, the Persian ratio of value between silver and gold was as 13 is to 1, it follows that in the Persian system 20 silver shekels or darics went to one gold daric, the weights of the two being dissimilar.<sup>1</sup>

That the early Persians also used bronze coins is implied from their specific mention in 1 Chronicles xxix, 7, their common use in the Orient and the States contiguous to Persia, and the facts brought together by Queipo (i, 100). What relation of value such bronze coins bore to the silver ones has not been determined positively,<sup>2</sup> but should it turn out (from the analogy of this Persian ecclesiastical to the other ecclesiastical systems of money which followed it in Egypt, Greece, and Rome) that such

<sup>1</sup> Queipo, ii, 304.

<sup>2</sup> A celebrated German antiquarian ("Fortnightly Review," March, 1889) declares that the Babylonians used copper coins, of which 60 went to what he confusedly terms the "drachma or half-shekel." The drachma contained about 85 grains of fine silver, the shekel (of Babylon) about 83 grains, the half-shekel about 40 grains, and the five-shekel piece—that which the writer probably alludes to as the drachma, or half-shekel—about 415 grains fine. If his surmise be well founded, then there were 12 copper coins to the shekel, and 20 shekels to the gold daric—very much the same system as at present;



relation was duodecimal, we shall be able to trace the well-known arithmetical proportions of £ *s. d.* to at least the sixth century before our era.

As with many other metrological denominations, the talent was a coin or sum of money, as well as a weight. In the former sense it has been employed continuously from the most ancient historical period to the present time. Both Gronovius<sup>1</sup> and Boeckh have shown, from ancient Greek texts, that "a weight of six drachmas (400 grains) of gold was called talent."<sup>2</sup> To illustrate this statement Boeckh goes on to show that (at one period) three Attic gold staters made a talent. As a general thing, however, the gold talent consisted of a sum of five gold coins of the denomination and weight of those most commonly used, and a silver talent of a sum of silver coins equal in legal value to five such gold coins. When the ratio was changed, the number of such gold coins as equalled the silver talent in legal value was changed with it, and this may account for Boeckh's valuation of three staters.

The Greeks, Sicilians, and Romans all used a gold talent.<sup>3</sup> In the Roman Civil Code of the fifth century a certain sum of money is called a libra, and defined as consisting of five solidi. This was possibly also a talent. In the thirteenth century the talent was one of the names given to the golden denarius, or maravedi, of 40 to 43 grains fine, which was struck by Henry III. in 1257, and valued at 5 groats or 20 sterlings. During the last century talleros, tallaros, or talleries was a name given to the 5-livre pieces, or silver dollars.<sup>4</sup> This tallero was used both in Egypt and Florence, for the oriental trade, so late as the early part of the present century, and had approximately the same weight and valuation as in France.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> De Pec. Vet., iii, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Polit. Econ. Athen., 40.

<sup>3</sup> Appleton, Cyc., xv, 275.

<sup>4</sup> Neckar's "Finances of France," London ed., 1785, iii, 74.

<sup>5</sup> Kelly's "Cambist," i, 57, 130.

The tael is still used in China and Japan, and it may be the origin of talent, thaler, and dollar. From these and other analogues and other circumstances, it appears that the Persian talent of money consisted of five darics, together containing, at the period of Cyrus or Darius,  $646\frac{2}{3}$  grains, or about  $1\frac{1}{3}$  troy ounces of gold. The Chinese tael of the present day weighs about  $1\frac{1}{3}$  ounces avoirdupois.

The weight talent greatly varied. Originating in the Orient, and weighing in remote times as much or more than the Chinese picul ( $133\frac{1}{3}$  lbs. avoirdupois), it afterwards fell to a hundredweight (the kikkah of the Bible and quintal of modern times). The talent of Cyrus probably weighed something less than the picul and more than the kikkah. Queipo (i, 106), following English metrologists, gives the Hebrew kikkah the weight of  $93\frac{2}{3}$  lbs., avoirdupois. The Continental metrologists give lower equivalents. As to later ancient talents, for example the Euboic and Attic, they were lighter. The mean of various equivalents of the Attic talent is only about half an hundredweight.

Through the blunder of mistaking the sum talent for the weight talent, some Biblical commentators have greatly exaggerated the sums mentioned in the Scriptures. Similar blunders have been committed by the classical commentators. The inhabitants of Chersonesus honoured the Athenian council and people with a golden garland worth sixty talents, which the metrologists have decided to mean  $1\frac{1}{2}$  tons! Whereas, according to an authentic inscription of the period, a gold garland presented to the Delian Apollo at the great quadrennial festival cost only 1,500 silver drachmas, or about 1,000 sterling shillings, say £50; and must therefore have been quite light.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Boeckh, 42.

*Ancient Persian monetary system, assumed to have been established by Cyrus, B.C. 533, and which, except perhaps as to the conjectural bronze coins, was certainly in use under Darius Hystaspes. Ratio of silver to gold 13 to 1.*

	Eng. grains.
1 silver gera of account, equal to . . . . .	4.190
12 (?) bronze coins, or 20 geras of account = 1 silver shekel, containing . . . . .	83.960
20 shekels = 1 gold daric, containing . . . . .	129.275
5 darics = 1 talent of money . . . . .	646.375

When the talent of money was of silver, it contained thirteen times as much, or about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pounds Troy weight.

As with the Indians and other nations of an earlier, and the Romans of a later, date, the Princes of Persia only struck gold coins when they were independent. Thus, there are gold coins of Artaxerxes I., A.D. 226–40, Sapor I., 240–71, Hormisdas I., 271–3, Vararenes I., 273–6, Hormisdas II. and Sapor II., 309–79;<sup>1</sup> but after the reign of Sapor III. (383–88) the kings of Persia ceased to strike gold—an infallible sign that they had become vassals of some other power.<sup>2</sup> This power was indicated, at the time, by Procopius, the secretary to Justinian I., 527–65. “The king of Persia is free to coin silver as much as he likes, but neither he, nor any other barbarian king, has the right ( $\Theta\epsilon\mu\iota\varsigma$  = Themis) to place his stamp or effigy on a piece of gold, no matter how much gold metal he may possess; nor would such coins circulate among traders, nor even among the barbarians themselves.”<sup>3</sup> However, this position of affairs remained unchanged only a few years longer, until in the reign of Chosros I. (531–79), it was ended by the famous treaty between Justinian and Chosros, A.D. 533, called the “Perpetual Peace,” which recognised the independence of Persia. This event was marked by the issuance of gold coins stamped with the long-forbidden effigy of the Persian King.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mordtmann, “Zeitschrift d. deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft,” viii, 146.

<sup>2</sup> Lenormant, ii, 426.

<sup>3</sup> Bell. Goth., iii, 33.

<sup>4</sup> Longperier, “Médailles des rois perses de la Dynastie Sassanide,” pl. x, No. 4; Mordtmann, viii, 92, No. 288.

## CHAPTER III.

### ANCIENT HEBREW MONEYS.

Baug moneys of the Getæ—Casef used both for silver money and metal—Various kinds of shekels—Indian origin of the term—Dinára—Daric, or Darkon—Gera—Hebrew monetary system in the time of Ezra—Iron coins—Coinages of the Asmoneans—Silver and copper shekels—Extant specimens.

**M**ADDEN, in his excellent work on Hebrew moneys, is of the opinion that in many instances the references to money in the Hebrew Bible are to annular, or ring money, or baugs. These forms of money were used by all the Getæ or Goths, and may have been introduced by them into Asia Minor during their invasion of the seventh century B.C. The svastica, a Getic symbol of Budhic origin, has been found in the archæological remains of the Troad, and is mentioned in various works and essays on the subject.<sup>1</sup>

In accounts of the Hebrew monetary systems, not only have moneys been mistaken for weights, but casef, meaning generally cash, or money, has been translated literally as silver metal. In the Roman and Romance dialects the same word that means silver means also money in a general sense, as *argentum*, *argento*, *argent*, *plata*, *plato*, *piatta*, etc. When the Goths accepted Roman rule they substituted their *sil*, or *sild*, for *argentum*, whence we now have *silfer*, *silber*, *siller*, *silver*, etc. So in the ancient Tamil, Todu, Sanscrit, Cingalese, Persian, Assyrian, and Hebrew languages the same word stood for both silver and money: as *cásu*, *cás*, *kársha*, *cashaba* or *cashbekes*, *casba*, and *casef*. The custom arose, no doubt, from the fact that at certain epochs silver coins were the principal money of the states mentioned. It is quite

<sup>1</sup> Count D'Alviella, on "Symbols;" London "Times," Oct. 30th, 1894.



evident that where Abraham paid "four hundred shekels of silver (casef) current *money* with the merchant," he paid coins and not bullion. "Shekels" were coins, "casef" was money; the italicised word *money* of the English version does not occur in the original, because it is not necessary, casef being sufficient; "current with the merchant" is conclusive, for bullion cannot be current (Gen. xxiii). As to weighing the coins, all coins were weighed before the mechanism of coinage became sufficiently perfect to detect wear, and to (practically) discourage clipping. That diverse coins circulated in Judea at this period is evident from the distinction made in the Levitical law between "shekels of the sanctuary," "shekels of the king's weight," and others. The former must either have been gold shekels, or silver ones heavier than ordinary. The ingenious but unsound explanation that such shekels meant standard weights, and that shekel is derived from *kesitah*, the Hebrew word for a lamb, is met by the fact of its previous use for money in the Orient. Sicca is the Hindu word for knife, and by *metonym*, a mint where knife-coins were struck, or where coins were cut or finished with a shears, also coins or struck money. Hence the various derivatives, siccal, sycee, shekel, saiga, zikkah, sequin, etc., which flowed to Persia, China, Judea, Arabia, Gotland, Venice, etc., when commercial intercourse placed those countries in communication with India. In a similar way the word *dinára*, a sum of money mentioned in the Rig Veda, which Prof. Müller declares to be the oldest scripture extant, has come through Rome and Arabia to find a permanent resting-place in the third term of the modern English £ s. d.

Not only in the passage quoted, but also in Lev. xxvii, 25; 2 Sam. xiv, 26;<sup>1</sup> Ezek. xlv, 12, and other

<sup>1</sup> In 2 Sam. xiv, 26, the weight of Absalom's hair is given at "200 shekels after the king's weight." If, with the biblical commentators, we reckon the shekel as a weight of about half an ounce Troy, then Absalom's hair weighed over eight pounds, which is incredible; the usual

places, the word shekel is quite plainly used for money generally; whilst in Gen. xxiv, 22; Numbers vii, 13, and other places it may mean a weight. In 2 Kings xii, 9, money is explicitly mentioned. The darics mentioned in 1 Chron. xxix, 7; Ezra ii, 69; viii, 27, and Neh. vii, 70 to 72, as "adarkonim" stand in the English version as "drams"—a palpable corruption. These coins are mentioned by Herodotus (Mel. 166) in relation to Aryandes, who was Prefect of Egypt under both Cambyses and Darius. The origin of the term has been already alluded to. As previous to the Persian epoch, there was a dharana gold weight, and probably also a dharana gold coin in India, it may have come, as most other monetary terms came, from India. An analogue is offered in the name of the month Adar.

The Hebrew Bible mentions various moneys, as the gera (of which, as in Persia, 20 went to the shekel), the silver shekel, the gold shekel, the gold daric, and the talent. From these materials, aided by the weights of the extant darics, the denominational ratios of the Persian system, and the metallic ratio mentioned by Herodotus and corroborated by the Khorsabad Mint standards weighed by Oppert, we are enabled to construct the following table of Hebrew money at the time of Ezra, which was the middle of the fifth century B.C.

	Eng. grains.
12 (?) bronze or iron coins (1 Chron. xxix), 7 = 1 silver gera	4'190
10 geras = 1 bekah (Exod. xxxviii, 26), containing . . .	41'980
20 geras = 1 shekel (Exod. xxx, 13, 15; Lev. xxvii, 3, 25; Ezek. xlv, 12; Isaiah vii, 23, translated "silverings")	
containing . . . . .	83'960
20 shekels = 1 gold daric, or gold shekel, containing . . .	129'275
5 darics = 1 talent, containing . . . . .	646'375

A talent of silver money contained thirteen times as much in weight as a gold talent.

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weight of a man's hair not exceeding a few ounces, and of a woman's rarely amounting to a pound. If, with the present text, we reckon the shekel as a coin, weighing about one-sixth of an ounce, then Absalom's hair weighed nearly three pounds—of itself sufficiently marvellous.

These various moneys, except perhaps the bronze and iron coins, were of the mintage, not of the kings of Judea, but of their suzerains, the sovereign-pontiffs of Persia. Indeed, the Jews struck no silver or gold coins, and perhaps no coins at all until the period of the Asmoneans, who struck silver coins under the authority of their suzerain, Antiochus IV, B.C. 176-64. About a quarter of a century later, when the Hebrews broke into revolt (years 173 to 170 of the Seleucidan era), Simon Maccabee struck various silver coins (1 Macc., xvi, 6; and xlv, 32). Many of these, together with some later ones (sixty in all) were weighed or cited by Queipo, who believed that they were issued under five different systems of weights, to wit, the Greco-Asiatic, Ptolemaic, Olympic, Bosporic, and Attic. In this respect, however, he may have been mistaken. Their weights he arranged under eight classes, as follows :

Class.	Eng. grains.	Class.	Eng. grains.
I	49·388	V	288·000
II	100·784	VI	233·053
III	148·166	VII	223·793
IV	218·545	VIII	226·108

These coins are not stamped with their denominations or value; and although Queipo remarked the absence of any homology between their weights and that of the weight shekel, yet he followed the older metrologists by assuming that the coin shekel must weigh a weight shekel, and by selecting for shekels from the coins before him those which approached nearest to the shekel in weight, and regarding the others as fractions or multiples thereof. Hence he selected Class IV, which weigh nearly half an ounce troy each. As well regard the English sovereign as only the fiftieth of a pound of money because it takes fifty of them to equal a troy pound weight! The selection of the half-ounce silver coin of the Maccabees for a shekel is objectionable, first, because the Hebrew shekel evidently originated in the Persian shekel, which, in the time of Ezra, contained but 84 grains, and in that

of Xenophon very much less ; and, second, in the well-known tendency of coins to diminish rather than increase in weight. Four centuries had elapsed between Ezra and the Asmoneans, and the circumstances of the latter were not such as to render them affluent in silver ; indeed, they soon after struck copper shekels. We must, therefore, look for the silver shekel of the Maccabees amongst coins of a lower weight than the shekels of Cyrus or Darius ; and as there is only one series of this character, it follows that the silver shekel of the Jewish revolt is indicated in the above table as Class I, and contained about 50 grains, or about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  to the modern silver dollar. Of this class of shekels there are some half-a-dozen specimens extant, in a good state of preservation, and unquestionably genuine, the heaviest of them, containing  $50\frac{1}{6}$  grains, being in the cabinet of Madrid.





## CHAPTER IV.

### ANCIENT GREEK MONEYS.

Earliest moneys of Greece—Gold and silver baugs—Leather moneys—Iron money of Lycurgus—Pheidon of Argos—Staters of Miletus—Examination of the passages in Herodotus and other writers concerning the antiquity of coinage in Greece—The Parian marbles—Knife-coins found by Schliemann at Troy—Coins of the Troezenii—The “bulls” of Theseus—Statement of Sophocles—Drachmas of Solon—Ratio of 10 for 1—Mines of Laurium—Staters of Cyzicus—The first gold coins struck at Athens from the statue of Victory—Plato’s monetary system—Pre-Solonic scale of equivalents—Solonic scale—Decadence system—Coins give rise to weights, and not weights to coins—Confusion of the money and the weight talent—The obelos, or handful, and the obolos weight.

IT is quite possible that the earliest moneys used in Greece were those baugs or rings which the Scythians carried alike into Egypt and Britain, where, as to one country, they are sculptured on the temple of Thebes, and as to the other they appear in Cæsar’s narrative; but there are no remains to support this conjecture as to Greece. So, too, of leather money. The Scythians who invaded Greece<sup>1</sup> were freemen, who in later times were fond of using leather money—a money which disdained both the

<sup>1</sup> As we ascend beyond the sixth century B.C. we are obliged to confess that Greek history is largely fabulous. Pinkerton, Jamieson, Pococke, and other authors have pointed out the reason of this; it is that Hellas was conquered and colonised by the Scythians, whose paternity, when their power was overthrown, the colonists did not care to acknowledge, and instead created a fictitious paternity of their own. Hence all the heroes of Greece were gods or god-descended; and until the period above indicated we can be certain of no name. For example, Eckhel, in his “Prolegomena,” quotes Julius Pollux to the effect that the earliest money of Hellas was issued by Ericthonius, king of Athens, during the sixteenth century B.C. Eric is a Scythian name; Ericthonius is a myth.

stamp of sacerdotal authority to give it currency and the aid of capital to supply its material.<sup>1</sup> There is a suggestion that such money was used in very ancient times in Sparta.<sup>2</sup>

We shall presently adduce evidences from Homer, Plutarch, and Sophocles which point to the use of coins in the Greek states and colonies both before and shortly after the period ascribed to the Trojan war. Nevertheless, according to the numismatists, the earliest Greek-made moneys of which we have any literary evidences are those attributed to Miletus, Argos, Sparta, and Lydia. It will be convenient, before discussing these moneys, to allude to the ratio of value between gold and silver which prevailed in the Orient. As shown in another chapter the most ancient Braminical ratio of value between gold and silver in India was 1 to 5; during the Budhic period it was probably 1 to 6; and in the sixth century B.C. it seems to have been 1 to  $6\frac{1}{2}$ . Judging from the Egyptian ratio shown in the inscriptions of Tutmosis at Karnak<sup>3</sup> and the Persian and Greek ratios of a later period, the ratio in the punched moneys of Argos and Miletus was 13. The inscribed plates of gold and silver found under the palace of Khorsabad—which Sargon, king of Assyria, is believed to have erected, B.C. 706, *i.e.*, the plates weighed by Oppert, give the ratio in Assyria at 13, as follows:—The gold plate weighed  $2577\frac{1}{2}$  English grains, equal to the contents of 20 gold darics (properly dharanas) of 129 grains each; the silver plate weighed  $6769\frac{2}{3}$  grains, equal to the contents of 80 silver shekels of  $84\frac{3}{4}$  grains each. This silver plate evidently represented the Assyrian money-talent. As we know (from several equivalents mentioned in the oldest Hebrew scriptures) that there were 20 shekels to the daric, it follows that the gold plate

<sup>1</sup> The Scythians used leather moneys in Novgorod, Iceland, and China.

<sup>2</sup> Jevons, "Money and Mechanism of Exchange."

<sup>3</sup> Brandis gives the Egyptian ratio at  $13\frac{1}{3}$ , and assigns it to the sixteenth century B.C.

was of 5 talents and that the ratio was 13, or exactly double the Indian ratio.

This Assyrian mint-valuation between gold and silver possibly dated back to the period when the Phœnician traders commanded the product of the Iberian silver mines. It bears the marks of a deliberate and permanent policy, which was to buy silver, or, what is the same thing, levy it in tributes, at the ratio of 13, and transport it for sale to India, where it was coined and exchanged for gold at double this price. The silver knife-money found by Schliemann at Ilium was probably made in the West, possibly in Greece, for the Indian trade. When, at a later epoch, the Greeks of Asia freed themselves from Assyrian control or influences, which was probably during the eighth century, they fixed their ratio at 10, and made efforts to open commercial intercourse with India by establishing factories, as the Veneti had done before them, in the Crimea and other parts of the Euxine, with the view of trading through Scythia and Persia. But they were not successful. They had trouble with the Scythians in the seventh, and with the Persians in the sixth, century, when their attempts at overland commerce were definitely blocked by the conquests of Cyrus and the Persian adoption of the old Assyrian mint ratio of 13 to 1.

The ninth century B.C. is regarded by numismatists as the probable era of the punched stater of Miletus, now in the British Museum, on which is stamped the lion head, sacred to Cybele. On account of its primitive appearance, and also because of a loose construction placed upon certain allusions to coins in Herodotus and the Parian marbles, this "coin" has been regarded by some numismatists as the earliest "money" extant. This is so far from being true that, as shown in my histories of money in China, India, Assyria, and Egypt, cast bronze money and coined or punched money, both gold and silver, were employed in other states ages before the ninth century B.C.

Even in Miletus metallic money—whether cast or clipped with a pair of shears or coined, that is to say, struck with a cuneus or punch, is immaterial—metallic money, I say, must have been in use before the ninth century B.C.; not only because Miletus was a commercial city, and could hardly have refrained, either from fabricating her own money, or else from employing the moneys of Assyria, Egypt, or the Orient, but also because Miletus was settled by Greeks, and it is all but certain that the European Greeks used money before the ninth century B.C. For this century was the era of Lycurgus (B.C. 881), who not only established a numerical system of money in Sparta—and it must be borne in mind that a numerical system is a refinement of money which bespeaks a previous experience in other moneys—he interdicted the production and importation of gold and silver and their use as money.<sup>1</sup> It is not contended that punched money, or the bevelled discs so familiar to us as “coins” were in use; on the contrary, I am inclined to the belief that the archaic money of Greece, like that of Britain, consisted of gold and silver baugs, which were either hammered on the anvil, or cast and then stamped with that mark of authority which made them payable and receivable for debts and tributes—in a word, money similar to that of Kuen-Aten, the Hucos king of Egypt, specimens of which have been found in recent years at Tel-el-Amarna. Following this were possibly globular coins like the staters of Miletus. That money of some sort was used in Greece before the ninth century B.C. is no less certain than that the Greeks wore shoes before that period. The stater of Miletus may therefore be either older or more recent than has hitherto been supposed.

Now, let us briefly examine the evidences upon which the numismatists have relied for support of the current theory concerning the antiquity of certain archaic and undated Greek coins. The subject has much more than

<sup>1</sup> “Hist. Money, Ancient,” p. 163; Athenæus, vi, 23, 24.



a technical interest; it is related to chronology, to religion, and to general history.

Herodotus (Erato, 127) says that Pheidon, tyrant of Argos, "introduced measures among the Peloponnesians." As, according to Aristotle, who wrote about a century later than Herodotus, "the function of money is to measure value," and as the Greek word for measure and for money is from the same root (*nomos*), it may be held that this passage concerning Pheidon includes or means money. Even though this be admitted, the passage does not necessarily relate to the antiquity of money, but only to the period when money was introduced among the Peloponnesians, and this may have been some new kind of money and not money generally nor originally.

A series of ancient chronological tables were discovered in the early part of the seventeenth century in the island of Paros. These were brought to England by the Earl of Arundel, and presented to the University of Oxford, where they still remain. They are variously referred to as the Arundelian Marbles, the Parian Chronicles, or the Oxford Tables. Though it is by no means certain, they are believed to have been engraved during the second century B.C., and are dated backward from the year when Diognetus was Archon of Athens, which the chronologists determine to have been in B.C. 264; though on this point they differ (and consequently so do all the dates on the marbles) to the extent of fourteen or fifteen years.<sup>1</sup> The Arundel marbles relate that "Pheidon of Argos, the eleventh after Hercules, invented weights and measures, and struck silver money in the Isle of Ægina," 631 years before the Archonate of Diognetus. This places the action of Pheidon in the year B.C. 895.

It is to be observed that these accounts do not agree; that Herodotus accords much less credit to Pheidon than the marbles claim, the former stating that Pheidon "in-

<sup>1</sup> Acad. Belles Lettres, xxiii, 53; Freret, *ibid.*, xxvi; Selden, *Dissertation*, 1628; Prideaux, *Dissertation*, 1676.

roduced" measures to the Peloponnesians, the latter averring that he "invented" both weights and measures and struck silver money in Ægina. This island is within sight of Athens, whilst it is distant from Argos, whence it can only be reached by weathering the dangerous promontory of Scyllæum. Neither does it appear that Ægina was subject to Argos; on the contrary, it seems at this period to have been independent. Under these circumstances, if Pheidon struck silver money in the Isle of Ægina, it was struck for him by a foreign state and by people who, it must be presumed, had previously struck similar money for themselves. This carries the fabrication of Æginetan silver money backward as far, at least, as the tenth century B.C.

Elsewhere (Clio, 94) Herodotus says: "The Lydians were the first people on record who coined gold and silver into money and traded at retail." This statement—the first part of which is ambiguous and the last part erroneous—is the main reliance of the numismatists. All archaic coins are dated by them from Gyges, king of Lydia, the first of the Mermnadæ, B.C. 713. It is assumed that this is the earliest money of the world. The fact that we possess Chinese bell-shaped and knife-shaped coins professing to be twenty centuries older; that a bell-shaped coin of the Chinese type has been found in the Swiss Lake-dwellings; that Schliemann found what seemed to be knife-shaped silver moneys on or near the bed-rock beneath Hissarlik; that money is mentioned in the earliest writings and inscriptions extant, both Chinese, Indian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Hebrew, and Egyptian; that inscribed baug-money of Kuen Aten has been found at Tel-el-Amarna, and that Pollux mentions even Greek money of the fifteenth century B.C.—all this is set aside. The theorists will not have it. Herodotus in Clio had attributed the invention of coins to the Lydians, and there was an end of the matter. All coins must be of this or a subsequent era. Herodotus in Clio was final.

Well, let us see about this. I have great respect for authority, but very little for pedantry, and none for perversity. The same paragraph of Herodotus which says that "the Lydians were the first people on record who coined gold and silver," also says, immediately afterwards, that during the reign of "Atys, son of Manes, king of Lydia," a famine occurred, to alleviate which, the people fasted and played games of dice, knucklebones, ball, and draughts every other day for eighteen years! It must be evident, except to the dumbest understandings, that this is mere fable. Atys and Manes are sacred names brought from India at a very remote era, and are about as nearly related to a distinctive or specific date as is "the eleventh after Hercules" of the Arundel marbles. If the Lydians coined gold and silver before they fasted eighteen years on dice and knucklebones, during the reign of "Atys, son of Manes," then they coined much earlier than Gyges, for Manu, or "Manes," wrote, or was quoted, both in India and Egypt some eight or ten centuries earlier. However, there is something more to be said on this subject, and as it bears upon the whole system of fabulous chronology it may as well be said now.

The passage in Clio is assumed to relate to the eighth century B.C., because it is soon afterwards followed by the narrative of the Scythic invasion of Asia Minor, which occurred in the following century—an inference that would connect it with the Lydia of the Greeks, which commenced with Gyges, who reigned from 713 to 678. It is also assumed to relate to any and all money. But these assumptions and inferences are quite unwarranted. Before it was colonised by Greeks, Lydia, according to Herodotus himself, was inhabited by Etruscans, or, at all events, the race which in Italy was afterwards known by that name. The chronicles of Lydia previous to the Mermnadæ extend backward to the thirteenth century B.C., and, therefore, so may the date of the coinages alluded to

by Herodotus. The persistence of those commentators and metrologists, who rely upon this passage to establish the invention of money by Gyges, is inexplicable. Such a conclusion is not only unwarranted by the text, it is exploded by archæological research. The passage contains no date and is very guarded. It relates only to states or peoples who fabricated money of gold *and* silver, to those who fabricated it by “coining” or punching (not cutting nor casting), and to those whose coinages were, to the knowledge of Herodotus, of record—limitations which deprive this statement of all practical worth.

Modern writers too often fail to grasp the circumstances of the ancient Greek authors and the restrictions under which they wrote. The Athenians were inculcated by their priests into the old Braminical doctrine of their heavenly descent. They were taught that every free-born Athenian was descended from Jupiter and Apollo. One of the questions put to the archons upon their being invested with office was, “Are you a descendant of the gods?”<sup>1</sup> Although intelligent persons knew very well that they were not so descended, and therefore that the question was practically “Are you a free-born citizen of Athens?” there was a very numerous class of “sojourners” and helots, who were, or were intended to be, imposed upon by this impious fiction, and to whom it was believed it would have been an unfortunate or dangerous disclosure to admit that anybody or anything existed before the Greeks and their works. Consequently Greek authors were obliged to claim for their countrymen, not only aboriginality, but the invention of every art or device known to man—of ploughing, of iron, of ships, of numbers, of letters, of money, of music, etc. Hence, although Herodotus in one place asserts that Egyptian priests traced their own chronology back 17,000 years, in another he is careful to assure us that the Phrygians, who were Greeks, were more ancient than the Egyptians, and hence, without

<sup>1</sup> Potter, *Ant.*, ch. xii.



venturing to say it explicitly—for Herodotus was a pious and prudent man—he permits us to draw the conclusion, if we are simple enough to do so, that the Greek Lydians were the inventors of money. The passage is not only defective in the respects mentioned, it is defective in other respects (for example, in reference to retail trade) which hardly demand comment; it is contradicted by the inscriptions of Tutmosis at Karnak, which relate not to bullion but to coins, and which, whatever their date, are much more ancient than the Mermnadæ; it is contradicted by Pollux, who mentions both Greek and Etruscan coins of an earlier period than that which the metrologists have assigned to this passage, namely, the coins attributed to the mythical Erichonius and those stamped with the two-faced Janus; it is contradicted by the Parian chronicles relating to Pheidon of Argos, who was older than Gyges; it is contradicted by the opinion of orientlists, who carry the invention, both of coined and cast money in India, to a far more remote era than either of these kings; it is contradicted by Josephus (“Wars,” i, 2), who says that Herod got “three thousand talents in money” from the sepulchre of king David. Finally—and these evidences are most conclusive—the date and construction assigned to this passage of Herodotus is quite demolished by the more ancient inscribed moneys of China, of which numerous specimens are extant; by the fragments of bell-shaped money found in the Swiss Lakewellings; by the baugs of Kuen Aten; and by the six specimens of knife-money (Indian sicca, or Levantine double-shekels of due weight and fineness) found by Schliemann under the ruins of the third or burnt city of Ilium.<sup>1</sup>

But in the areopagus of the Western world it has been a rule of law for more than two thousand years to admit

<sup>1</sup> “Sica, a knife of iron,” appears in Josephus’ “Antiq.,” xx, viii, 10, and is defined in the “Institutes of Justinian,” iv, 18, p. 451. It survives alike in the sycee of China, the sicca of India, and the assegais of South Africa.

no other than Greek and Roman evidences. Although it has been shown over and over again that the Greek works which have been spared are filled with fabulous materials, the courts of literary appeal have invariably ruled that their evidence, and theirs only, was valid. Very good. We bow to the ruling of the courts, and shall proceed to adduce some more Greek testimony, to wit, that of Homer, Plutarch and Pausanias, all Greeks, all pious men, and all good witnesses.

Says Pausanias ("Bœotics," 38): "Even in the Trojan times they were in no want of money. This is evident from what Homer represents Achilles saying, in answer to the ambassadors of Agamemnon:

'Not all the wealth Orchomenus receives!'

It is clear from hence that the Orchomenians were supplied with great riches at that time." From this passage it appears, not merely that Homer referred to the wealth of Orchomenus at the period ascribed to the Trojan war, but that Pausanias, his commentator—himself a learned Greek antiquarian—was of the opinion that wealth here meant money. Elsewhere the same author ("Argolics," 30) mentions the "ancient coins of the Trœzenii, which bear the figure of a trident and the head of Minerva," and which he evidently alludes to (though not explicitly) in connection with the remote and mythical period when the Egyptian god Horus and the Greek god Neptune divided the dominion of Argos between them. It is true that in "Laconics," 12, Pausanias says that in the time of king Polydorus (eighth century B.C.) there were not (in Laconia) "any coins of silver or gold," and that, forgetting that this was the period of Lycurgus' iron numeraries, he goes on to explain that trade was conducted by barter; but this, and the belief that the East Indians in his own day were reduced to the same shift, because, as he was informed, they were "unacquainted with money," must be regarded as slips of an otherwise most exemplary

Greek witness. The correctness of this view is evident from "Messenics," 4, where he informs us that Polychares of Laconia, who was the victor of the stadium in the 4th Olympiad (B.C. 760), was the creditor of Euæphnus for "a sum of money," which the latter promised to "refund"; and lastly, from "Bœotics," 37, where he alludes to "an annual sum of money" as of a time more ancient than Hercules.

Turning now from Pausanias to Plutarch, it must be premised that although his history of Theseus, the subject of his leading biography, is filled with many fabulous materials, this is no reason for doubting the reality of Theseus or the period of his reign, which is explicitly attributed in the Parian marbles to a year answering to B.C. 1259. Plutarch says of this Theseus: "To his money he gave the impression of an ox, either on account of the Marathonian bull, or because of Tauros, the general of Minos, or else because he would encourage the citizens (of Athens) in agriculture. Hence came the expression of a thing being worth ten or an hundred oxen."

Now, I contend that this testimony is quite as valid as that of Herodotus, and, corroborated as it is (with reference to the antiquity of money) by so many other evidences, that it is a great deal better. But this is not all. The Greeks were subject to the deified kings of Assyria and Persia more generally and for a longer period than their historians cared to admit. It was not for nothing that they called the sovereign-pontiff of those states "the King" *par excellence*. He was so styled, not because he had no distinctive name, nor because he was the king of a great or of a contiguous empire, but because, like "the Sultan" of to-day, he was *their* king, the suzerain of numerous Greek states. Evidence sustaining this opinion is found in the long abstention of the Greeks from the coinage of gold and in the common currency in the Greek states of the Persian daric. Sparta, who first held the hegemony of Greece, issued no gold coins at all; whilst Athens, who

succeeded her in the hegemony, only struck such coins in an hour of need and from Phidias' gold statue of Minerva.<sup>1</sup>

Fortified by these evidences of the antiquity of money in the Levant, it may now be permitted to cite the evidence afforded by Sophocles, the contemporary of Herodotus. This writer, in his "*Antigone*," makes Creon say: "Go, and buy if you will, the electrum of Sardis (Lydia) and the Indian gold."<sup>2</sup> As Thucydides places the era of Creon about sixty years after the Trojan war, the dramatist evidently alluded to the electrum coins of Sardis and the gold coins of India as of the eleventh century B.C. We say "coins" because we have both electrum coins of Sardis and gold coins of India older, at least, than the fifth century B.C., and the former are of such artistic merit that it is evident that they are not archaic coins, but must have been preceded by others, of ruder type and workmanship. If by his expression "money of gold and silver" Herodotus meant these same electrum coins, then his statement regarding money is still more specious and misleading. The allusion of Sophocles by itself would be of little worth. The archæological corroborations and the artistic perfection of his era, which, both in sculpture and literature, boldly reflected the truths of Nature, lend it great interest. It not only points to the antiquity of money, it is still better evidence in regard to the antiquity of Levantine commerce with India. This was certainly in the hands of the Veneti during the twelfth century B.C.; for they were driven out of Pontus, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia before the period assigned to the Trojan war. Previous to that time they monopolised the entire commerce of the Euxine, the Marotis, Tanais, Caspian, and Azof—waterways that carried their oriental traders within twelve or fifteen degrees of their destination. After that time and until they were driven out

<sup>1</sup> The Athenians struck no gold coins before this time.

<sup>2</sup> Humphreys, 186.



of Illyria by the Romans, during the third century B.C., the commerce of the Veneti was confined to the coasts of Greece and the Adriatic and Baltic seas.

According to Boeckh, p. 28, one hundred of the new drachmas of Solon, who was archon of Athens B.C. 594, were equivalent to 72 or 73 more ancient drachmas. If this were quite reliable, then to Solon belongs the merit or demerit of altering the ratio from 13 to 10 for 1; because as we have some of the drachmas of Solon and know their contents, the proportion given would make the more ancient drachmas contain about 85 grains fine silver, the weight of the shekel. As twenty of these were commonly exchanged for a gold coin, which, whether a dharana of India, a medimni of Media, a daric of Persia, or a stater of the Levant, contained about 130 grains of fine metal, the Athenian ratio, previous to the lowering of the drachma, must have obeyed the ratio of Assyria, Media, and Persia, which was 13 for 1. But, according to Queipo, who is a more reliable authority on the weights of coins than Boeckh, although we have drachmas older than Solon, they do not contain more than 65 grains fine silver; so that the change of ratio from 13 to 10 for 1, assuming it have occurred in Athens, must have taken place before Solon was archon. However, it is certain from the coins that the ratio under the administration of Solon was 10 for 1, and that it continued at this figure for nearly three centuries; for it is impliedly mentioned by Menander, about B.C. 322, as being still in vogue at a recent period. During this interval the ratio in the Orient was  $6\frac{1}{4}$  or  $6\frac{1}{2}$ , and in Persia 13 for 1, or double the Indian ratio.

Queipo's evidence on this subject is based on the weight of what he considers one of the oldest Greek tetra-drachmas (four-drachma pieces) extant. This he assigns to the seventh century B.C. It only weighs  $260\frac{3}{4}$  grains, and he adds that the heaviest one extant of any age only weighs 266 grains. So that, as before stated,

until these denominations and weighings are overthrown, we must regard the change of the Greek ratio from 13 to 10 for 1 as having occurred before Solon.

Boeckh, p. 44, also cites the anonymous dialogue on Covetousness, conjecturally assigned to Plato, in favour of a Greek ratio of 12, which is based on the equivalent of one chrysos (or stater) equals 24 silver drachmas. But this is not deemed a safe deduction, both because the 24 drachmas to the chrysos may be based on the  $12\frac{1}{4}$  ratio of Syracuse, and because the dialogue may be a forgery of the Alexandrian school. Indeed, this very ratio rather indicates the forgery, for there is no Athenian ratio of 12 which can be proved from the coinages previous to the Alexandrian era. All of Boeckh's observations on the ratio are weakened by his inability to distinguish between the like names of coins and weights, and by his misconception of the hitherto purely legal or ecclesiastical and arbitrary nature of this relation, as fixed by the mint laws of the temples.

Cræsus, king of Lydia, B.C. 560-46, and a vassal of the king of Persia, is believed to have struck those Lydian gold coins of which some specimens are extant. As gold coinage was a pontifical right which was guarded with great jealousy by the deified Cyrus, it is not hazing too much to conjecture that its infraction by his vassal provoked that invasion of Asia Minor by the Persians which ended with the entire destruction of the Lydian power. It will be remembered that a similar act on the part of Abd-el-Melik was assigned by Procopius as the reason of the war which was declared against him by Justinian II.

In B.C. 540, Polycrates, of Samos, an island off the coast of Lydia, is said to have deceived the Spartans with false gold coins. Herodotus,<sup>1</sup> who repeats the story, affects to discredit it; but whether true or false, it goes to prove that the art of forging coins was not unfamiliar to the

<sup>1</sup> Thalia, 56.

Greeks of that period. Nor was the art of testing coins a novelty, for Theognis (B.C. 570–490) informs us that “alloyed gold or silver is easily detected by a shrewd man.”<sup>1</sup> Thucydides, describing the second year of the great war, says: “The Peloponnesians, after they had ravaged the inland parts, extended their devastations to those which are called the coast, as far as Mount Laurium, where the Athenians had silver mines.” This place is about fifty miles from Athens. The works, reopened in recent years, show that the ore was calamine, full of base metal, and rather difficult to reduce. Its transformation into the nearly pure Greek coins of this period proves that the Greeks were also proficient metallurgists. In a note to this passage (p. 136) the Rev. William Smith follows Moyle in the assertion that “the silver mines at Laurium originally belonged to private persons, but were united to the public domain by Themistocles,” whose era was B.C. 514–465. This remark conveys an erroneous impression. In the sense of control, the mines always formed a portion of the public domain, but they were worked by individuals, both citizens and foreigners, at their own risk and for their own account, upon paying one twenty-fourth of the produce to the State. Xenophon, writing in B.C. 353, explicitly says: “It is very strange that after so many precedents of private citizens of Athens who have made their fortunes by the mines (of Laurium), the public should never think of following their example.”<sup>2</sup> From this passage it is

<sup>1</sup> Maxims, line 119.

<sup>2</sup> Moyle’s translation in D’Avenant’s works, vol. i. Xenophon wrote about B.C. 353 as follows:—“It may be objected that gold is at least as useful as silver. I shall not deny this. I shall only remark that gold, if it become more common than silver, would fall, whilst silver would rise in value.” This opinion could only have been sound at a time when there were no laws in existence determining or affecting the relative value of the precious metals; in the face of such laws, especially when they were enforced or commended by sacerdotal authority, the relative quantity of these metals, whether the quantity produced or the quantity

quite evident that down to the time of Xenophon the State never worked the mines of Laurium, and there is no evidence that it ever did so.

According to Pollux, half-staters, or 50-litra pieces ("pentakonta-litra") in gold, popularly known as "damaretions," were struck about B.C. 480, by Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, from the jewellery which the women had contributed to support the war with Carthage. Diodorus, overlooking the discourtesy that would have been offered by such an act, says they were coined from the garland of 100 talents which the Carthaginians presented to the queen consort Damaretta on the ratification of peace. In 444 the chalcus or "copper" (coin) of Athens was in circulation. During the age of Pericles, who died in 429, the drachma still contained 65 grains fine, a ratio of 10 for 1, and this continued during the whole of the Peloponnesian war, 431-04.<sup>1</sup> In 428 (87th Olym.) Eupolis alludes to the circulation of gold staters in Athens. They are next mentioned by Lysias 458-378. These were stamped with the effigy of the Mother of the Gods, and were variously called stater and chrysos, the last being the Greek word for gold. They were probably struck in Cyzicus. The name of chrysos suggests the "christnalas" of the Indians. None of the pieces thus stamped are extant.<sup>2</sup>

In 407, during the war, the Athenians melted the gold-copper statue of Minerva Victorious and converted

on hand, might have no effect at all upon the ratio. Such was the case after the opening of Spanish America, when the world was "flooded" with silver; such, again, was the case after the opening of California and Australia, when it was "flooded" with gold. Neither of these events made the slightest impression upon the ratio. Nor could similar events have affected it in the time of Xenophon, when the ratios, both of India and Egypt, were fixed by sacerdotal authority, and that of Greece, if not also an ecclesiastical adjustment, was a necessary and unavoidable compromise between the ratios of those two great empires.

<sup>1</sup> Boeckh.

<sup>2</sup> Boeckh, 37, 38, 43.



it into debased gold coins. These are alluded to by Aristophanes in his vulgar comedy of "The Frogs," first represented in 406 as "the vile copper coins struck but yesterday," in contrast with "the old coins proved by their ring." Colonel Jordan, commenting on this in the "New York Financial Record," justly regarded the "old coins" as silver ones. It is true that both gold, silver, and copper coins had been long in use, and that in this very year (406) there was a new issue of copper coins, but the old gold coins were not of Athenian mintage, and the "old money" evidently alluded to silver coins. We know of no lowering of the silver coins until about the year 360, when the drachma was diminished to about  $63\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine. Timotheus, who died in 354, issued highly over-valued copper coins in place of silver ones, but this was only a temporary resource, and these copper coins appear to have been afterwards redeemed and withdrawn.<sup>1</sup>

According to Boeckh (pp. 37, 38, 39), Demosthenes, in his speech against Phormion, said that the gold staters of Cyzicus were worth 28 silver drachmas "at the Bosphorus." If the full-weighted Attic drachma is meant, this would imply a ratio of  $14\frac{1}{4}$ , as follows:— $28 \times 63 = 1778 \div 125$  (the weight of the Cyzicene stater) =  $14\frac{1}{4}$ . But such a ratio is impossible, because the Cyzicene ratio, contemporary with the Athenian drachma of  $63\frac{1}{2}$  grains, was 10 for 1, as follows:—20 silver Cyzicene drachmas,

<sup>1</sup> The statue of Minerva Victorious was executed by Phidias, and during the war, when the democracy of Athens vented its ill-humour in satirical literature, it was intimated not only that the artist had sequestered some of the treasury gold provided to construct it, but also that Pericles had shared in the embezzlement, and had urged on the war in order to avoid an investigation into the matter. This charge appears in Aristophanes' comedy of "The Peace." With a stain of such a character resting upon the statue, it is less difficult to understand why the Athenians made no opposition to its being melted down. Its weight (exclusive of the alloy) was forty talents, or somewhat over a ton (Thucydides, Book ii).

each of  $62\frac{1}{2}$  grains = 1 gold stater of 125 grains. Queipo reads "*of* the Bosphorus," instead of "*at*," but this does not meet the difficulty, for  $28 \times 62\frac{1}{2} = 1750 \div 125 = 14$ , which, for a ratio between silver and gold at this period, is almost as bad as  $14\frac{1}{4}$ . The true explanation lies in the fact that after the campaigns of Alexander and during the eras both of Demosthenes and Menander, the Cyzicene ratio was changed by decree to 12 for 1. Under this legislation the Cyzicene stater commanded 24 of the old Cyzicene drachmas, or else 20 new ones of about 75 grains, thus  $125 \times 12 = 1500 \div 20 = 75$ . It also commanded 28 Athenian drachmas of about  $53\frac{1}{2}$  grains each. Although pieces so light as this were much more common at Ægina, there is not the slightest doubt that they were also struck at Athens, for we have some of them yet, and a few, in an excellent state of preservation, as light as 50 grains.<sup>1</sup> These were most likely the coins to which Demosthenes alludes.

After descending to this point the Athenian drachma again rose to the old weight, not from any increase in the supplies of silver, or any improvement in the fortunes of the State, neither of which circumstances occurred, but simply from the fact that Alexander the Great had seen fit to change the ratio to 12, and that his power and authority, or the influence of his conquests, compelled all the Greek states to obey his command or follow his example. This "deity" struck staters of  $132\frac{3}{4}$  down to  $131\frac{1}{4}$  grains, and ordered the tributes to be collected in these coins, or else in silver weighing 12 times as much. After this, and under the circumstances, the Athenian drachma, at 20 to the stater, was no longer possible without a new coinage, and this was impracticable. The only other alternative was to reckon the drachma at 24 to the stater; and thus the score, the last fragment of the old Braminical decimals, was effaced from the Greek

<sup>1</sup> Finlay, "Rom. and Byz. Money"; Queipo, "Systeme Grec.," sec. 280.

coinage valuations, not to be restored until a much later period.

The alteration of the ratio by Alexander can hardly be dated before the destruction of Thebes in 334, and was probably not promulgated before 332. It was possibly not adopted in Athens until shortly before the death of Demosthenes, which occurred in 322.

The "Laws" of Plato were composed in either 348 or 349, but it is evident from the rudeness of the diction and the coarseness of thought which pervades many passages, as well as from other circumstances, that they were "amended" by some writer of the Alexandrian school. In thus corrupting it the whole text of the work was evidently rewritten, and although the passage we are about to quote was probably penned by Plato himself, the absence of technical knowledge on the part of the transcriber has cast it into a coarser mould than the original. It occurs in Book v.<sup>1</sup>

"Further, the Law (of the Ideal Republic) enjoins that no private individual shall possess or hoard gold or silver bullion, but have money only fit for domestic use, such as is necessary for dealing with artizans and servants, sojourners,<sup>2</sup> and slaves. Wherefore our citizens should have a money current among themselves, but not acceptable to the rest of mankind. For foreign expeditions, journeys, embassies, the expenses of heralds (abroad), and such matters, the Government must also possess a fund of coins current in other States. When an individual needs to go abroad let him obtain consent of the archon and go; but on his return, if he has any such money remaining, let him deposit it in the treasury and receive an equivalent sum in local money. If he is discovered to have concealed it, let it be confiscated, and let him who knows and

<sup>1</sup> See vol. v, p. 313, of Jowett's translation for a more literal version.

<sup>2</sup> This term, which Dr. Jowett rather ambiguously translates "immigrants," occurs as "sojourners" in the "Acharnians" of Aristophanes, and in several places in Thucydides. See Smith's ed. pp. 108, 117, 125.

does not inform, be subject to anathema and dishonour equally with him who brought the money, and also to a fine not less in amount than that of the universal money which has been brought back."

It is fairly deducible from this passage that even before the change of ratio by Alexander, the disorders of monetary systems had made a deep impression upon the Greek philosophic mind. The Athenian money, barring a few coppers, was composed of gold and silver coins. If we leave out the copper-gold staters of the year 407 and the copper drachmas of the year 354 (temporary expedients) the Athenian coins had always been noted for their purity and full weight; and even when, after the era of Pericles, they began to be degraded or lessened in weight, they were not debased or lowered in fineness. The disorders which led to the suggestion of so radical a remedy as is contained in this passage from Plato were due chiefly to the ratio between gold and silver. From the moment of their liberation from Persian authority down to nearly the third century, the Hellenic States had maintained a constant ratio of 10, and that, too, in the face of a powerful neighbour, who demanded his tributes in silver at the rate of 13, in order that he might sell this silver in India with cent. per cent. profit. This dissonance of ratio gave rise to much disorder and probably to numerous local losses in the buffer States which separated Persia from Greece, as they fell alternately beneath the sway of these belligerent rivals. Not only this, but it gave rise to hostile ratios in other directions, as in the coinages of Sicily. Plato's remedy was a non-exportable currency; the expedient resorted to at the present day for a similar disorder has been to demonetise silver. This will certainly remedy the disorder of the legal ratio, because it will destroy it altogether; but will it not, at the same time, introduce a greater evil by reducing to a moiety the stock on hand of the material of which coins are made?



The scale of Greek monetary equivalents commonly adopted by numismatists and metrologists is 7 lepta = 1 chalcus; 8 chalchi = 1 obolus; 6 oboli = 1 drachma; 20 drachmas = 1 stater; 5 staters = 1 mina; 60 minas = 1 talent, and the talent from half a quintal to 72 pounds weight of silver. This system Boeckh applies not only to Athens, but to "almost all the Hellenic States, even those which were not in Greece but were of Hellenic origin." It is strangely defective. It embraces in one system the coins of different ages; it fails to distinguish coins that were issued at the ratio of 10 from those which were issued at the ratio of 12; it mistakes weights for coins, and the talent, which here was a sum of silver coins, for a weight or a sum of gold ones. Following the metrologists the biblical critics have valued the money talent at £187 10s. to £342. Its true value was about £5.

Leaving out of view for the present the copper coins lepton and chalcus, the most ancient equivalents of money in the Greek States were 5 silver oboli = 1 silver drachma of about 85 grains fine; 20 drachmas = 1 gold daric, or chrysos, of 130 grains fine; 3 chrysi = 1 talent of 60 drachmas containing 5,280 grains of coined silver. (Pol-lux distinctly, and in two places, says 3 chrysi to the talent.) The ratio in this system was 13 for 1.

In the Solonic system the equivalents were 5 silver oboli = 1 silver drachma of about 65 grains fine; 20 drachmas = 1 chrysos, or gold stater, of 130 grains fine; 5 staters = 1 talent of 100 drachmas containing 6,500 grains of coined silver. Ratio 10 for 1.

In the decadence system of the fourth century B.C., the equivalents were 6 silver oboli = 1 silver drachma of  $63\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine; 24 drachmas = 1 gold stater of 127 grains fine; 5 staters = 1 talent of 120 drachmas containing 7,620 grains of coined silver. Ratio 12 for 1.

Boeckh says, "I agree with Gronovius that a weight

of 6 gold drachmas was called talent.”<sup>1</sup> This is a double error. First, although it is quite possible that Gronovius is right in supposing that, at some time or other, the talent was worth 6 staters, this valuation does not appear to belong to the periods under review. Originally the talent was worth 3 chrysi, afterwards 5 chrysi. Second, it was not the weight but the value of the gold pieces that was “called talent.” The Greeks were among the largest producers of silver; they gave its name to money generally; they always counted in silver money; and when the denomination was omitted silver drachmas were meant. The talent was originally a sum of 60, then 100, and then 120 silver drachmas, and its weight, derived from these numbers and weights and not from those of the foreign gold coins in which its value was sometimes expressed, was successively 5,280, 6,500 and 7,620 grains. Like the penny-weight and shilling-weight of the Tudor period in England, the money talent was (if regarded as a weight) derived from coins, and although not itself a weight, in time it became a progenitor of weights—for example, of the Roman libra and the avoirdupois pound. In short, these last-named weights, whose origin the metrologists have long sought in vain, arose teleologically from the Indian siccā, multiplied by some function of the ratio of value fixed from time to time between gold and silver in Assyria, Persia, and Greece.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The “golden drachma” was a name sometimes given to the chrysolos or stater. I fancy that “medimni,” used by Plutarch in reference to the institutes of Solon, was another, perhaps the original, name for these coins (Potter’s “Ant. Gr.,” i, 14).

<sup>2</sup> Observe the confidence of a borrowed theory. Says Mr. Charles Rann Kennedy, “Orations of Demosthenes,” Appendix ii: “Money (as is well known) has always been founded on a system of weight.” I should put it quite the other way, and say that: From a study of the monetary laws and numismatic remains of ancient states, precise weights appear to have originated from coins. Stater, talent, pound, penny-weight, etc., are terms which point to such an origin.

Elsewhere I have pointed out some of the blunders into which metrologists and writers on money have been led by confusing the sum talent with the weight talent, but I cannot resist adding one more to the number. The garland presented by the Carthaginians to Queen Damaretta of Syracuse was probably of thin beaten gold, fit for wearing on the head. It cost 100 talents.<sup>1</sup> In Athens this sum was equivalent to 10,000 silver drachmas, or (in gold), 500 staters, each stater being of about the weight of the modern English guinea or American half-eagle. But, according to the scale of the metrologists, 100 talents weighed 50 quintals, or between two and three tons! The sword that was afterwards suspended from the same throne over Damocles was but slight torture compared with the head-dress in which the metrologists have arrayed the good Queen Damaretta. It is true that one of them says, "When golden garlands of many talents are mentioned, no other talent but such as these (each of three staters) are meant."<sup>2</sup> Yet elsewhere this same metrologist falls into the old blunder and treats the talent of money as a talent weight of silver.

In A.U. 566 (B.C. 187) a treaty was concluded between Rome and Antiochus III., of Syria, by which that "deity" stipulated, among other things, to pay "12,000 talents of silver of the proper Attic standard, the talent to weigh not less than 80 Roman pounds."<sup>3</sup> Here, evidently, the talent means the weight talent, but this was not always the case in ancient writings. It frequently meant the sum of money indicated in the foregoing scales of equivalents, just as now a sum in "pounds" means so many gold coins ("sovereigns") and not so many pounds weight of gold.

Gibbon, who alludes to the crowns presented to the Emperor Claudius by Tarragonese Spain and Gaul, one of seven hundred pounds, the other of nine hundred pounds, was obliged to invoke the learned Lipsius to

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus, xi, 26.

<sup>2</sup> Boeckh, 41.

<sup>3</sup> Livy, xxxviii, 38.

explain away what, if regarded as a weight, was evidently a blunder.<sup>1</sup>

We now come to the copper coins of Greece. Boeckh (p. 766) associates the *chalcus* and *lepton* with the name of Dionysius the Brazen, B.C. 444, but this appears to be a mistake. There was indeed a *chalcus* at that period, but the *lepton* seems to belong to the Alexandrian era. The *chalcus* was probably most anciently 5 to the *obolus*, then 6, and finally 8. The *lepton* was 7 to the *chalcus*. The original quinquennial relations of the *chalcus*, *obolus*, and *drachma*, which found their prototypes in those of the Indian *retti* and *masha*, were not, until a later period, disturbed with such inharmonious fractions as the one-seventh and one-eighth valuations of the Greek copper coins.

Finally, it must be observed that all the Greek coins had significant names. The gold coin was called a *stater*, or standard, not because the Greeks regarded gold coins as better than silver ones—on the contrary, their preference was for silver coins, the product of their own mines—but because, owing to the sacerdotal character of gold in the Indian, Assyrian, and Persian religions, the weights of the gold coins used in the Greek States were kept constant, and the Greeks had to adjust their silver ones to those changes of the legal ratio which necessity or national polity enjoined. In other words, the *daric* was of a constant weight; the *drachma* was not. The name of this silver coin means a handful. Aristotle (ap. Poll., 9, 77) says that this handful formerly consisted of six copper, or iron, *obeloi*. But this could not have been much before his own time, because anciently the *obolos* was made of silver. *Obelos* means a digit (and therefore a finger), a needle, a nail, or anything long and thin, as *obelisk*, which is from the same root. Some ancient authors reckon 10 grains to the *obolos* weight<sup>2</sup>—an equivalent evidently related to the ten fingers of the hands. It was also the name of

<sup>1</sup> "Decline and Fall," ii, 72, note.

<sup>2</sup> Webster.



the smallest silver (afterwards a copper) coin, and is doubtless due to the fact that the "handful" of five fingers constituted the drachma. The translator of Aristotle makes him say that the Greeks formerly used nails for money. Unless he alludes to the metonym for finger-nails, he might as well have said needles, or obelisks. The usual Greek word for finger was *dactulos*, from which are derived dactyle, digit, doight (Fr.), deut (D.), and doit (old Eng.), the last, like the primitive obolos, being the smallest coin of the time, and meaning, as the obolos did, a finger, or one-fifth of the handful. Chalcus means literally a copper. Lepton means small, and the lepton of a later period derived its name from the fact that it had followed the obolos and chalcus in constituting the small change of the Greek monetary system.

## CHAPTER V.

### ROME.

Supposed silver coins of Servius Tullius—"Romano" coins—A.U. 369, the Nummulary system—A.U. 437, Scrupulum system of gold and silver—"Roma" coins—A.U. 485, Centralisation of silver coinage and change of ratio—A.U. 537-47, System of the Lex Flaminia—A.U. 663, The Social War; coins of the Italiotes; concession of citizenship; centralisation of money at Rome—A.U. 675, System of Sylla—Systems of Julius Cæsar—Augustus—Caligula—Attempted revival of the Republic—Galba—Otho—Caracalla—Aurelian—Diocletian—Constantine—Arcadius and Honorius—The Byzantine systems down to the Fall of Constantinople in A.D. 1204—The Western Systems—Clovis—Pepin—Charlemagne.

SINCE the writing of my "History of Money in Ancient States" many hoards of Roman coins have been discovered, and many important numismatic works have been published and discussed. These throw so much new light on the Roman monetary systems that the subject needs revision. The present chapter is an essay in this direction.

I must begin by assigning a lower value to the monetary evidences contained in Pliny's "Natural History" than was done in my former work. Pliny was far from being well-informed on the subject of Roman money. He wrote hundreds of years after the establishment of those earlier monetary systems of Rome, whose metallic remains have been preserved by the earth to the modern world, but of which no collections appear to have existed in his time. His observations on the subject are gathered rather from grammatical than historical works, of which, owing to the proscriptions of Augustus, but few were

extant in Pliny's time. When to these difficulties, which interposed themselves between the Roman encyclopedist and the knowledge which he attempted to acquire and preserve, are added the difficulties of an ecclesiastical and imperial censorship, deeply interested in conserving the religion, history, and chronology invented and bequeathed to it by Divus Augustus, the wonder is, not that Pliny missed, but that he secured so much on this subject as is to be found in his work. Hence, I have treated his observations with almost reverential deference, and have only put them aside where they are contradicted by the numismatic remains or other archæological testimonies.

It has long since been demonstrated that the ecclesiastical and political history of Archaic Rome is fabulous. To this must now be added its early monetary history. That, too, is fabulous. It is quite possible that the earliest money of Rome was the ace grave, or heavy copper brick, held as a "reserve," but "represented" in the circulation by leather notes.<sup>1</sup> It is also possible that this was followed by the ace signatum and afterwards by silver coins. According to Charisius, Varro wrote: "*Nummum argenteum conflatum primum a Servio Tullio dicunt; is quatuor scrupulis major fuit quam nunc est.*"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ace is thus spelled by the earlier numismatists, and is preferable to As. It comes from the Sanscrit *ayas*, meaning totality. The Romans used the word to designate any congeries (Gaston L. Feuardent, in "*Am. Jour. of Numismatics*," 1878). The Tarentines gave the same meaning to this word and employed it in similar ways, but spelled it *Eis*. The same word, bearing the same meaning, found its way from India across the steppes of Russia to the Baltic, where it is still found in the *Ies* or *Jes* of the Netherlands (see chapter xvii). The leather notes of archaic Rome are mentioned by Seneca: "*Corium forma publica percussum.*" Consult my "*Hist. Money in Ancient States*" for further information on this subject. Some authors trace the *Ies* to Janus, whose face was stamped on the coins.

<sup>2</sup> The grammarian Charisius, A.D. 400. *Institutionum Grammaticæ*, cited by Scaliger, "*De Re Nummaria*," ed. 1616, p. 42. Queipo, ii, 17.

“It is said that silver money was first made (*conflatum* means, literally, melted or cast,) by Servius Tullius. It was more valuable (or heavier) by four scrupulums than it is now.” Varro wrote during the Augustan age, when the denarius contained about 60 English grains of silver; but as he was a bookworm, who gathered his knowledge chiefly from ancient authors, these circumstances go for nothing. The silver coins, alluded to by his authorities as of the present time, “now,” were probably the denarii of A.U. 437, mentioned by Pliny (xxxiii, 13), which weighed  $78\frac{3}{4}$  grains, or five grains more than Pliny’s inexact “six to the ounce” weight. At that period a scrupulum (as we shall presently see) meant a tenth of anything; so that Varro’s statement merely amounts to this, that the most ancient silver coins of Rome were worth four-tenths more than the new ones, namely, those issued after the decline of the nummulary system.<sup>1</sup> The Duc de Luynes had a number of very ancient Roman silver coins in his cabinet, which, relying upon this text, he attributed to the reign of Servius Tullius; but numismatists, while admitting their genuineness, are not disposed to credit them with such great antiquity. Nay, even the existence of Servius Tullius has been disputed. Upon a review of all the evidences connected with this difficult matter, it seems that the Romans struck silver coins at a much earlier date than is commonly believed, that is to say, before A.U. 437, indeed, before the nummulary system, which preceded that of A.U. 437. The order of systems was, therefore, as follows:—

1. Ace grave, with leather notes; 2. Ace signatum; 3. Silver (and copper) system mentioned by Varro, the silver coins (denarii) weighing each about 118 grains, many specimens of these coins being still extant; 4. A.U. 369, nummulary system; 5. A.U. 437, gold, silver, and copper system, the silver denarius weighing  $78\frac{3}{4}$  grains.

<sup>1</sup> Queipo, table lix, gives the weights of some of these heavy denarii.



When these last-named coins became the principal circulating medium of the Roman State, some of the more ancient denarii mentioned by Varro's authorities, and rescued from subterranean hoards, may have again crept into circulation, when they were valued at  $1\frac{4}{10}$  denarii each; because, although they contained 50 per cent. more silver than the current denarii, they were antiquated, and fit only for recoinage, which involved the loss of a tenth or twelfth for seigniorage. This hypothesis disposes of the passage preserved by Varro and Charisius. It was probably taken from Timæus, and simply meant that ten of the ancient silver coins passed current for fourteen new denarii.<sup>1</sup> Similar valuations are to be found in all ages and countries, many of them in the coinages of the present day.

With regard to the Janus-faced circular copper coins, which Lenormant ascribes to the period of the Gaulish invasion, A.U. 369, or B.C. 384, it is to be observed that although these pieces are now regarded as aces, they may have been nummi, afterwards called sesterces, or pieces of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  aces, the figure "1" upon them signifying one nummus instead of one ace, as has been commonly supposed. That these coins were connected with the nummular system of the Republic there can hardly be a doubt.

Both the examples of the Greek Republics and the writings of Plato and other philosophers had taught the Romans the advantages of a limited and exclusive system of money issued by the State, and having little or no worth other than what it derived from its usefulness and efficiency in measuring the value of commodities and services. The proof that the Romans were familiar with such a system of money appears in the writings of Paulus, the jurisconsult, who enunciated its principles long after

<sup>1</sup> With regard to the practise of seigniorage on Roman coins, Neibuhr denies, while Boeckh affirms it. The coins prove that the latter is right; but neither of these eminent *savants* seemed anxious to discuss the subject.

the system had ceased to exist. Had no such system ever existed in Rome, Paulus would have had no warrant in the Roman law for the monetary principles he laid down. As felted paper was unknown, the symbols of this system could most conveniently be made of copper. Therefore, the means necessary to secure and maintain such a money were for the State to monopolise the copper mines, restrict the commerce in copper, strike copper pieces of high artistic merit, in order to defeat counterfeiting, stamp them with the mark of the State, render them the sole legal tenders for the payment of domestic contracts, taxes, fines, and debts, limit their emission until their value (from universal demand for them and their comparative scarcity) rose to more than that of the metal of which they were composed, and maintain such restriction and over-valuation as the permanent policy of the State. For foreign trade or diplomacy a supply of gold and silver, coined and uncoined, could be kept in the treasury.

There are ample evidences that means of this character were, in fact, employed by the Roman Republic; and, therefore, that such was the system of money it adopted. The copper mines were monopolised by the Roman State, the commerce in copper was regulated, the bronze nummi were issued by the State, which strictly monopolised their fabrication, the designs were of great beauty, the pieces were stamped "S. C.," or *ex senatus consulto*; they were for many years the sole legal tenders for payment of contracts, taxes, fines, and debts; their emission was limited, until the value of the pieces rose to about five times that of the metal they contained,<sup>1</sup> and they steadily and for a lengthy period retained this high over-valuation. The equivalent of four aces signata to the nummus probably marks the period when the nummus was worth four times its weight of copper, for the ace signatum was merely so much metal to the Romans of

<sup>1</sup> "History of Money in Ancient States," 257.

this period, though it may have had a superior value to the Etruscan and other surrounding nations. The equivalent of two and a half aces signata to the nummus probably marks a further decline in the value of the latter. When the nummular system broke down entirely, the nummi, which had successively been worth 5, 4, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  aces each, fell to the value of 1 ace, and were thenceforth themselves known as aces. The decadence of this system, that is to say, the precise period when the nummus fell to the value of an ace, is uncertain. If we permit ourselves to be guided by Livy, it was when, the soldiers' stipend ("there being no silver coined at that time") being paid in bronze coins, the immense quantity required for the army was conveyed to it in waggons; in other words, in the year A.U. 402. The introduction, or rather the re-introduction, of silver coins into the monetary system of Rome must, therefore, with the greatest probability, be dated between A.U. 402 and A.U. 437.<sup>1</sup>

Livy (vii, 16; xxvii, 10) mentions a tax called aurum vicesimarium enacted A.U. 397—an expression which implies the use of gold money in Rome at that early date, or, what is more likely, at a still earlier one. This implication derives corroboration from what we shall presently have to say concerning the "Romano" coins.

Lenormant (i, 316) holds that "it has been established by Mommsen beyond all question that, with perhaps one exception, there exist no gold coins of the Republic but such as were struck by its military generals in the field, or at least elsewhere than in Rome." The exception relates to the aureus of Cn. Lentulus, and even this, it is claimed, was not struck under his civil authority as monetary triumvir, but as urban quæstor, specially com-

<sup>1</sup> Livy, iv. 60. A similar coinage of silver took place in China in 1845, where a somewhat similar system of bronze numeraries had existed, and where, by the way, it still exists (H. M. A., 43). At the present time (1895) silver is being again coined in China for soldiers' pay.

missioned to provide for the expenses of a war. This opinion is based rather upon a theory than a fact. The theory is that the Roman coins of the Republic were struck by virtue of the imperium, that is to say, a military rather than a State prerogative. The answer to this theory is that there was and could have been no prerogative of the imperium other than that derived from the State.

What was the imperium? Supreme military command: the right to do whatever was deemed essential to achieve military success. This right sprang from the people. In the most ancient times it was conferred by the Comitia upon the king after they had elected him, and by virtue of his office.<sup>1</sup> When the monarchy was overthrown the people annually elected two supreme co-ordinate magistrates, into whose hands were committed all the powers of the State, including the imperium. These were acquired and exercised by virtue of their office. For this reason the consuls were sometimes called imperatores.<sup>2</sup> When a general in the field had obtained a notable victory, it was customary for the troops to hail him by this proud title; but it could not be retained after the triumph or the return of the victorious commander to the city. There it fell, of course, to the consuls by virtue of their office.<sup>3</sup> It follows that after the Comitia, the powers of the imperium were derived from the consuls, and were subject to modification or revocation by them. No doubt many of the Roman commanders, during the period of the Republic, struck coins in the field in order to melt down and divide the spoils or pay the troops, but such coinages were, legally, as completely under control of the State as though they had been made in Rome. Indeed, without such legal control and supervision it would have been impossible for generals in the field to

<sup>1</sup> Niebuhr, i, 288; Carr, "Roman Ant.," 108.

<sup>2</sup> Adams, "Roman Ant.," 91, and authorities cited.

<sup>3</sup> Adams, 322.



adjust their gold coinages with such nicety to the weights of the silver coins and the ratios of value established by the State from time to time between the precious metals, as appear from a due consideration of the coinage systems of this era. Moreover, at the period alluded to by Mommsen, the State had but recently emerged from the use of a bronze currency system, whose efficiency and value had depended largely upon the limitation of its issues by the State, which was, therefore, not likely to have parted with this supernal prerogative. This system had broken down, not from any inherent defect or impracticability, but owing to the circumstances of a war which took place upon Roman soil and threatened the very existence of the Republic. Finally, if there was a department of the government which, more than any other, enjoyed the prerogative of coining gold, it was the pontificate rather than the imperium, for in the ancient times gold was always held to be a sacred metal, and upon it was stamped, not so much the emblems of war as of religion. But that the Roman coins were struck by pontifical authority does not appear to have been suspected by the learned Prussian.

When Mommsen's imperium argument is applied to the affairs of the Empire, it flies in the face of the most illustrious witness whose testimony has been preserved to us from antiquity. Says Tacitus: "Besides the honours already granted to Blæsus, Tiberius ordered that the legions should salute him by the title of imperator, according to the ancient custom of the Roman armies in the pride of victory, flushed with the generous ardour of warlike spirits. In the time of the Republic this was a frequent custom, insomuch that several at the same time, without pre-eminence or distinction, enjoyed that military honour. It was often allowed by Augustus, and now by Tiberius for the last time. With him the practice ceased altogether."<sup>1</sup> From this passage we learn that during

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, "Annals," iv, 74.

the Empire the title of imperator, and with it necessarily such prerogatives as belonged to the imperium, were granted by the order, permission, or clemency of the sovereign-pontiffs, and that Tiberius granted it for the last time. These replies to the argument of the Prussian *savant* are strengthened by the legends upon the "Romano" coins presently to be mentioned.

The earliest Roman silver coins which are still extant in any number belong to two series, stamped respectively "Romano" and "Roma." Numismatists generally attribute both of these series to the mints of Capua and other cities of Campania, which were then included in Magna Græcia. They date the "Romano" coins from A.U. 412 to 543, and the "Roma" coins from A.U. 437 to 543. Before giving their reasons for these attributions and dates, I must be permitted to say that several circumstances induce me to regard the "Romano" coins as of an era previous to the Roman nummulary system; in other words, that the silver coins of the "Romano" series are embraced in the heavier and earlier denarii alluded to by Varro. (1.) Many of them weigh half as much again as the "Roma" coins, and, for this and other similar reasons, could hardly have belonged to the same system. Babelon saw this objection, and attempted to avoid its force by supposing the "Romano" denarii to be Greek di-drachmas, but our chapter on Greek moneys proves that the explanation is defective. The "Romano" coins are not heavy enough for di-drachmas of that period, even when of the lightest weight yet found. (2.) Although the internal dissensions of the Samnites led to the interference of the Romans so early as A.U. 412, then under the consuls M. Valerius Corvus and A. Cornelius Cossus, yet this interference did not for many years result in any such conquests, on the part of the latter, as would have warranted them in stamping money in the field, or anywhere else, for circulation in Campania; whilst the legend "Romano" forbids the hypothesis that they were stamped for circulation else-

where than in Rome. Their Grecian type may be simply due to the employment of Greek die-sinkers in Rome.

For these reasons the "Romano" silver coins are regarded as older than the "Roma" series; this view including all the "Romano" coins, whether of gold, electrum, silver, or bronze.

The reasons advanced by numismatists for calling both of these series Capuan or Campanian coins are briefly as follows:—(1.) The types of the coins are Greek, not Roman. They follow the coins of Macedon; some of them follow the types of previous Capuan coinages; some are stamped "Capua" in the Oscan letter. (2.) The word "Romano," as employed on the coins, is a Greek rather than a Roman form. (3.) The type of some of the Capuan coins (for example, the casqued Minerva) is apparently copied from the coins of Andoleon, king of Pæonia (in Macedon), about A.U. 470. However, these last are rather late "Roma" coins, about which there is no dispute.

It is quite possible that during the wars of the Romans with the Samnites and other nations in Italy, their generals struck some "Roma" coins in the field; but unless we are prepared to throw both Livy and Pliny overboard, it must be admitted that such coins were also struck in Rome, and that all of them, whether in Rome or elsewhere, were struck under the coinage prerogative of the Roman State—a prerogative which, from the birth to the downfall of their government, the Romans never willingly let slip from their hands.

In A.U. 437 a notable addition was made to the monetary system of Rome by the issuance of a "Roma" gold coin, called the "scrupulum," which was valued at twenty aces, and others of forty and sixty aces—not sesterces, as has been hitherto supposed.<sup>1</sup> Assuming that the denarius of this period contained  $78\frac{3}{4}$  grains fine silver and the relation of silver to gold was 9 for 1, then

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen, *M. R.*, i, 266, cited by Lenormant, i, 162.

the scrupulum coins should contain about  $17\frac{1}{2}$  grains of gold, which, as is shown in the table below, was the fact.

It should, however, first be explained that in Greece and Rome the scrupulum (not the scripulum, for which it has often been mistaken) was the name of a pawn or draughtsman, and that the game of draughts was anciently played with nine and afterwards with ten men. Hence the scrupulum at first meant the ninth, and afterwards the tenth part, or multiple, of anything. So also an insect with ten feet was called scrupipidæ, and a measure of land ten feet long and ten feet wide, containing a hundred square feet, was called a scrupulum. At a still later date the game of draughts was played, as it is still played, with twelve men, but these numbers were unknown to the game at the period under review. Hence, in Rome, during the fifth century of the city, a scrupulum meant, not a weight, but the ninth of anything; and in the case of money it meant the ninth of the gold aureus. This is shown in the following table :

*Roman coinage system about A.D. 437 or B.C. 316. Ratio of silver to gold, 9 for 1.*

$2\frac{1}{2}$ bronze aces	= 1 bronze sesterce.
4 sesterces	= 1 silver denarius, $78\frac{3}{4}$ Eng. grains.
2 denarii	= 1 gold scrupulum, $17\cdot5$ grains, stamped "XX."
18 denarii	= 1 gold aureus, $157\cdot5$ grains.
5 aurei	= 1 libra of account, containing $787\cdot5$ grains fine gold.
Hence 900 aces = 1 libra.	

The gold and silver coins were of substantially fine metal. Type of gold coin : obverse, the head of Romulus or Mars, accompanied by numerals, denoting the tale value; reverse, an eagle, with the legend "Roma." Type of silver coins : obverse, female head with winged helmet; reverse, a biga and the legend "Roma."

Pliny (xxxiii, 13) says that the libra was equal to "DCCCC," or 900 sesterces, meaning aces, to the value of which the bronze sesterces meanwhile fell.

From this table of equivalents it will be observed that



the scrupulum was not a scripulum weight, nor the libra a pound weight; but that the former was simply one-ninth of the aureus coin, and the latter five aurei.

The scrupulum coins in the British Museum marked "LX," meaning 60 aces, contain from 52 to 52·7 grains of gold, the theoretical weight being  $52\frac{2}{3}$  grains. Those marked "XL" contain 34·4 to 34·5 grains, the theoretical weight being 35·106 grains; those marked "XX" contain 17·2 to 17·4 grains, the theoretical weight being 17·5 grains. The denarii contain from 66·5 to 79·9 grains. The lightest of these denarii evidently belong to later systems.

With regard to the "libra" of account, Gibbon says that, besides the libra weight, the Romans used a libra of account, which they called pondo: "Outre la livre pondérale des Romains, ils avoient une livre de comte, qu'ils appelloient pondo."<sup>1</sup> An example in point is shown below. The pound of account was also called the "libra sestercia," or the "sestercium;" that is to say, a thousand bronze sesterces, whether composed of gold, silver, or copper coins. Pliny, Ammianus Marcellinus, and the Theodosian Code all assure us that there were 5 aurei to the "pound" of account during the Empire.

Gibbon supposed that the Romans commenced coining gold at 40 aurei to the libra weight, afterwards (citing Snellius and Agricola) at 42, and gradually more, until, in the time of Caracalla, the number reached 48 (109·38 grains each); "the drachma or denier" always weighing half as much, and valued at  $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{5}$  of the aureus, a ratio of  $12\frac{1}{2}$ . But the numismatic discoveries of the present century prove this to be all wrong. The aureus of A.U. 437 was struck  $33\frac{1}{3}$  to the pound weight; the denier was not always half the weight of the aureus; the ratio was never  $12\frac{1}{2}$ ; there were not always 25 deniers to the aureus. As these errors are only a few, amongst a vast number on the same subject, that appear in the usual works of reference, they are only noticed here on account

<sup>1</sup> Misc. works, ed. 1815, iii, 437.

of the eminence of the author, and the almost universal acceptance of the great literary masterpiece to which his essay on "Roman Money" formed a preliminary study.

In A.U. 485 a small silver coin was struck in Rome, the fourth of a denarius, called a sesterce. At the same time there appeared a new coinage of aces, of which 10 went to a denarius, of about 73 grains. These coins are shown in the following table of equivalents:<sup>1</sup>

*Roman coinage system under the consuls Ogulnius and Fabius, A.U. 485 or B.C. 268.<sup>2</sup> Ratio of silver to gold 10 for 1.*

2½ bronze aces	= 1 silver sesterce, 18·229 grains.
4 sesterces	= 1 silver denarius, 72·9167 grains.
20 denarii	= 1 gold aureus, 145·833 grains.
5 aurei	= 1 libra of account, containing 729½ grains fine gold.
Hence 1000 aces = 1 libra.	

The gold and silver coins were of substantially pure metal. Coins struck in Rome.

It is in reference to this period that Budæus (lib. 4) says that the pondo of account consisted of 100 denarii, or 400 sesterces (or 1000 aces). The system was purely decimal: for example, 10 aces = 1 denarius; 20 denarii = 1 aureus; 5 aurei, or 1000 aces = 1 libra. This circumstance has a significance which does not belong to the present subject, but which the curious reader may pursue in my "Middle Ages Revisited," index word "Ten." Mommsen holds that in A.U. 485 Rome limited the Latin colonies to the coinage of bronze, and thenceforth monopolised for herself the coinage of silver.

Between the era of this system and the year A.U. 535, when a treaty relative to the exchange of prisoners made during the first was renewed during the second Punic war, the libra of account appears to have been raised

<sup>1</sup> Ernest Babelon ("Monnais de la République," i, xxiii) dates the earliest silver sesterce in A.U. 485 (486). It disappeared in 537, reappeared in 665, and finally disappeared in 711.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, xxxiii, 13; Livy, Ep. xv.

from 5 to 10 aurei. There are several testimonies which support this opinion. Plutarch, who alludes to this treaty in his life of Fabius Maximus, fixes the ransom of the prisoners at 250 drachmas or denarii. Livy (xxii, 23), in alluding to the same transaction, computes it at two and a half pounds of money—"argenti pondo bina et selibras." This allows 250 denarii to the libra of account. As the denarius of that period weighed about 70 English grains and the aureus about 160 grains, and the ratio was 10 for 1, it follows that there were 10 aurei to the libra, as appears in the next table. Other testimonies arise from the use of the phrases "libra sestercia" and "sestertium," meaning a thousand sesterces or 2500 aces to the libra, which could only be the case if the libra was raised to 10 aurei.

*Roman coinage system during the second Punic war, A.U. 535, or B.C. 218. Ratio of silver to gold 10 for 1.*

10 bronze aces	= 1 silver denarius, 70 grains.
25 denarii	= 1 gold aureus, 160 grains.
10 aurei	= 1 libra of account.

Hence 2500 aces = 1 libra.

The gold and silver were of substantially pure metal. These coins were struck in Rome.

However, this valuation of the libra did not stand long. Before the conclusion of the war the libra appears to have been again valued at 5 aurei, as shown in the following table of equivalents:

*Roman coinage system under the consuls Claudius and Livius, A.U. 547, B.C. 206.<sup>1</sup> Ratio of silver to gold 10 for 1.*

16 bronze aces	= 1 silver denarius, 63 grains.
6½ denarii	= 1 quarter-aureus, 39·375 grains.
25 denarii	= 1 gold aureus, 157·5 grains.
5 aurei	= 1 libra, 787·5 grains.

Hence 2000 aces = 1 libra.

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<sup>1</sup> Pliny, xxxiii, 13. Babelon, p. xv, dates this coinage from the Lex Flaminius or Lex Fabius, A.U. 537, the year of the battle of Trasimenus;

The gold and silver coins were substantially of fine metal. These coins were struck in Rome. About A.U. 525 the Roman authorities had established branch mints, and authorised the striking of coins for the Republic in the provincial cities of Italy, Cis-Alpine Gaul, and Illyria; but this did not include the right to strike the denarius.<sup>1</sup> In paying the troops a denarius was always reckoned at 10 aces.

One result of the Social war (A.U. 664-6), which was caused by the demand of the rural Italians to share the privileges of citizenship with the Romans, was that the Roman provincial mints in Italy, with the exception of those in Sicily, were all closed, and the work of coinage was removed to Rome. Before this, however, the insurgents issued coins stamped Italia, but as the coins were suppressed with the insurrection, they hardly claim a place in the present brief review. Among the Italiote coins were the aurei of Minus Ieus, weighing  $131\frac{1}{4}$  grains.<sup>2</sup>

The period of the Lex Papiria, cited by Pliny, which the older commentators assigned to A.U. 587, has been gradually lowered, until, in the most recent numismatic works, it has been assigned to A.U. 663, when, by the Lex Julia, the rights of Roman citizenship were at length conceded to all freeborn Italians. It is now called the laws of Julia and Plautia-Papiria. The original authority for this lowered date is Niebuhr, who has been followed by Mommsen, Lenormant, and Babelon. The principal changes which took place in the Roman monetary law at

when Q. Fabius Maximus was dictator and C. Servilius and C. Flaminius were consuls. A discrepancy like this one, of ten years, and a further discrepancy of five years, appears in many instances between the Augustan and Christian chronology. See "Middle Ages Revisited," Appendix, on "Ludi Sæculares."

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen, "Rechtsfrage," 18; Lenormant, ii, 234.

<sup>2</sup> Friedlander and Burgon give the weight of the aureus of Minus Ieus at  $131\frac{1}{4}$  English grains.



this period will be found embodied in the system of Sylla.

*Roman coinage system under Sylla, A.U. 675, or B.C. 78. Ratio of silver to gold 9 for 1.*

4 bronze aces	= 1 silver sesterce, 15 grains.
4 sesterces	= 1 silver denarius, of about 60·6 grains.
12½ denarii	= 1 gold half-aureus. <sup>1</sup>
25 denarii	= 1 gold aureus, of about 168·3 grains.
5 aurei	= 1 libra of account.
Hence 2000 aces = 1 libra.	

The gold and silver pieces were of substantially fine metal. Type of gold coins: MANLIA with biga, or L. SYLLA; on reverse, figure on horseback. Type of silver coins: obverse, head of Ceres, with small head of Taurus; reverse, altar and sacrifice—apparently a concession to the Bacchic cult of Italy.

The gold coins of this series, which are very rare, are believed to have been struck in Asia. The weights of four examples in the British Museum are 169·3, 167·7, 167·3, and 167·2 grains, the theoretical weight being 168·3 grains. The silver coins of the same series are serrated on their edges, and weigh from 55 to 61½ grains each, the theoretical weight being 60·6 grains. Sylla struck no bronze or copper coins, nor were any struck between his time and the year when Augustus celebrated the Ludi Sæculares, and when M. Sanguinius and P. Licinius Stoto filled the position of monetary triumvirs.

In his earlier coinages Julius Cæsar struck aurei of 142 and afterwards (in A.U. 694)<sup>2</sup> of 131¼ grains, specimens of which are still extant. The ratio of silver to gold in these coinages was probably 10 for 1. In the coinages of A.U. 708 this ratio was definitively—and, as it turned out, permanently—fixed at 12 for 1.

<sup>1</sup> "No smaller gold pieces in use at this period" (Humphreys, 303).

<sup>2</sup> Letronne, p. 75.

*Roman coinage system under Julius Cæsar, A.U. 708, or B.C. 45.*

*Ratio of silver to gold 12 for 1.*

4 bronze aces	= 1 silver sesterce, 15 grains.
4 sesterces <sup>1</sup>	= 1 silver denarius, about 60 grains.
25 denarii	= 1 gold aureus, 125 grains.
5 aurei	= 1 libra of account.

Hence 2000 aces = 1 libra.

The gold and silver pieces were of substantially fine metal. Letronne (p. 84) says that down to Vespasian the aurei were 0.991 to 0.998 fine. Cæsar was the first to stamp the image of a living person (his own) on a Roman coin (Lenormant, ii, 332).

No language is more positive than that of Mommsen and Lenormant in laying down the following institute: that Rome never permitted her vassals to strike gold. "La République se réservait exclusivement la fabrication de la monnaie de ce métal, sans la permettre à ses vassaux."<sup>2</sup> When gold was struck in the provinces—for example, the staters struck by Titus Quinctius Flamininus in Greece and afterwards the aurei of Sylla in Asia, or the aurei of Pompey in Cilicia, A.U. 693—it was always done in the name of Rome and under the prerogative of the State.<sup>3</sup> This practice was continued to the end of the Empire.<sup>4</sup> Lenormant regards it as the jealous prerogative of the imperium.<sup>5</sup> We have discussed this theory already, and shown it to be untenable. But even admitting, for the sake of limiting its place in time, that such was the case during the Republic, it certainly ceased to be so when the Empire was consolidated by Augustus, and all the powers

<sup>1</sup> "These were the so-called 'First Brass,' or, more properly, 'First Bronze,' which took the place of the silver sesterce, the latter thenceforth disappearing from circulation. The half-sesterce, or dupondius, was the 'Second Brass,' and the reduced ace was the 'Third Brass' of the earlier numismatists" (Humphreys, 302, 312).

<sup>2</sup> Lenormant, "Mon. Ant.," ii, 120; Mommsen, M. R., iii, 344.

<sup>3</sup> Weight of an aureus of Pompey, 146 grains. Lenormant, ii, 303.

<sup>4</sup> Patin, 35; Lavoix; Procopius; Zonaras.

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 121, 248, 304, 363, etc.

and prerogatives of the State, whether religious, civil, or military, were merged in the sovereign-pontiff. The latest of such alleged military coins were the silver denarii and bronze aces struck by T. Carisius, who was Legatus Augusti in Gallia and Lusitania, A.U. 731-2.<sup>1</sup> Augustus united the imperium to the pontificate in A.U. 740, and from this time forward the right to strike gold became the exclusive prerogative of the sovereign-pontiff. That it was regarded a sacerdotal prerogative is proved by the continual repetition of religious emblems on the coins. Lenormant himself noticed this: "Pendant longtemps, elles ne portant que des types religieux assez uniformes, arrêtés par les autorités publiques et puisés dans la religion de l'état."<sup>2</sup>

In this year the Roman coinage system was permanently organised.<sup>3</sup> The coinage prerogative was divided between the sovereign-pontiff and the Senate, the former retaining that of gold and resigning to the latter that of silver and copper. In a short time, through the virtual subjection of the Senate, the silver coinage also fell to the sovereign-pontiff. In accordance with the ordinance of A.U. 740, the coinage of silver was permitted to the proconsuls, and the pieces stamped PERMISSU DIVI AVGVSTI, that is, "by permission of the divine Augustus." The coinage of bronze always remained with the Senate.<sup>4</sup> However, this prerogative, like that of silver, was virtually in the hands of Augustus; yet it suited

<sup>1</sup> Lenormant, i, 362.

<sup>2</sup> Lenormant, ii, 232.

<sup>3</sup> "The school of Mommsen hold that a reorganization of the monetary system took place in A.U. 727, when Octavius received the title of Augustus, or in A.U. 738, the date of the Ludi Sæculares and of his (second) attempted apotheosis" (Lenormant, ii, 214, 399). But they fail to offer any proofs which connect the reorganization with these dates. Moreover, their conclusions are vitiated by the unwarranted assumption that the coinage was a prerogative of the imperium—an assumption which is negatived by their own admissions concerning the coinages of Otho mentioned further on.

<sup>4</sup> Lenormant, ii, 195, 216, 218.

his interest not to meddle with it as he did with the coinage of silver.

*Roman coinage system of Augustus, A.D. 740, or B.C. 13. Ratio of silver to gold 12 for 1.*

4 bronze sesterces	= 1 silver denarius, 58·4 grains.
25 denarii	= 1 gold aureus, 121·6 grains.
5 aurei	= 1 libra, 608 grains.
Hence 500 sesterces = 1 libra.	

The gold and silver pieces were of substantially fine metal.<sup>1</sup>

In this system the silver sesterce gives way to a bronze one.

The defects of Pliny's history of the Roman money arise chiefly upon his too confident reliance upon verbalisms; yet the school of Mommsen follow him without the least misgiving. They gravely inform us that pecunia is derived from *pecus*; that the value of coins is deducible from the names of weights; that the modern pound sterling is from the pound weight of silver, and the marc of money from a mark weight of silver; they talk familiarly of the single and double "standard" under Julius Cæsar and Augustus; and draw conclusions from ancient history, the premisses of which cannot possibly be traced in Europe farther back than the coinage legislation of the sixteenth century. Such a school exhibits no claims to be regarded as authorities on either the principles or the history of money. They have been taught to look upon money as so much metal, whereas it is plainly an institution of law. It is as though measures of length and volume were regarded as so much wood, because it has been found most convenient to make yard-

<sup>1</sup> Patin ("Hist. Coins," p. 71) says that the Roman gold coins were of fine metal down to the reign of Alexander Severus, when they were alloyed with one-fifth of silver. This alliance, however, was not common, but exceptional. He goes on to say that the purity of the coins was restored by Aurelian. On this subject, consult Lenormant, i, 200, 203.



sticks, pecks, and bushels of that material. Mommsen's conception of the monetary system of Augustus is that it began with an attempt to establish the "double standard" at a ratio of 15·75, then at 14·29, etc., but that after several trials this system was abandoned as impracticable, and the "single gold standard" was definitely adopted in place of it! The facts are that no such idea as is involved in the phrase of single or double "standard" was dreamed of at that period; that no such attempts were made; that no such ratios are deducible from the Roman coinage systems; that the ratio of the Empire was always 12 for 1; that no change occurred in its monetary system until the reign of Caracalla, and then only a slight one; and that no change at all was made in the ratio for nearly thirteen hundred years.

Gold standard, silver standard, double standard, halting standard, etc., these are terms derived from the legislation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when, for the first time in the history of the European world, private individuals were permitted to coin money, or, what is the same thing, they were accorded the right to require the government to turn their bullion into money, free of taxation, loss, or expense. This idiotic legislation, euphemistically called "free coinage," deprived government of that control over money which had ever been regarded as an essential attribute of sovereignty and as necessary for the maintenance of opportunities to facilitate a just distribution of wealth. In effect it destroyed money, or *nomisma*, which is an institution or a measure of value prescribed and regulated by law, and it substituted for money an unknown and illimitable quantity of metal—a substance that, as such, is not amenable to legal control. Hence arose the modern jargon of gold standard, silver standard, etc. So long as money was governed by law, it was the whole number of coins, reduced to one denomination, that determined prices. When money ceased to be governed by law, as was the case after the

legislation procured by the Dutch and English East India Companies, it was the whole quantity of metal that determined prices. Before the seventeenth century the "standard," or measure of prices, was the whole number of coins, at the valuation affixed to them by law; after that period the legal valuation (except as to the ratio) formed no part of the measure; and within the last quarter of a century, even the ratio has been swept away. The measure of prices in the Western world at the present time consists chiefly of metal, as such. When that metal is gold, the measure is called the "gold standard"; when it is silver, the "silver standard," etc. But in the days of Augustus this was wholly unknown. There was no individual coinage. The measure of prices was the whole number of coins which were legal tenders, and which circulated, not merely in Rome, but throughout the Empire, after they were reduced to one of the various denominations which were affixed to them by law. Within prudent limits, it made no difference whether the coins were pure or impure, light or heavy, yellow, white, or brown. No one could lawfully stamp them except the State. The value they bore was (within such prudent limits) whatever the State choosed to stamp upon them;<sup>1</sup> and this principle was so deeply planted in the Roman law and constitution, that it became the groundwork of judicial decisions as to what constituted a good and lawful tender of money, down to and including the period of Sir Matthew Hale.

With regard to the ratios which have been calculated by Mommsen and Lenormant between gold and silver, I have only room to say briefly that they are founded chiefly on two errors. The first one is that of mistaking the "libra" of money, or argenti, which was simply a sum of current aurei, no matter of what weight or alloy, for a pound weight of silver metal; the second one is that of calculating the ratio from anachronical

<sup>1</sup> Digest, xviii, i, 1.

coins, from exceptional coins, or from those of only local currency or limited legal tender. The ratios calculated by Hoffman<sup>1</sup> are of the same defective character. When the ratio is calculated, as it should be, from the full legal tender coins, issued under a given system by the sovereign-pontiff, it will be found to have always been 12 for 1. Although many of the Roman emperors issued debased silver coins, these were never full legal tenders; for example, they were not receivable for tributes or taxes, which were payable either in aurei or in silver coins, or bullion, at the weight ratio of 12 for 1. Lenormant's statement (i, 185) that "Alexander Severus, in order to steady the revenues, decided that all payments into the treasury should be exclusively in gold," is unwarranted by the text to which he refers, which merely says that the emperor "frequently caused his gold and silver to be weighed." This is precisely what is done periodically in all great treasuries.<sup>2</sup> Upon this text Lenormant also builds the unwarranted conclusion that the "standard," or measure of prices, was gold metal. His master, the illustrious Mommsen, also sees in the gradually lessened weight of the aureus, "a virtual demonetisation of gold."<sup>3</sup> Whereas, in fact, nothing of the sort is to be seen. The lowering of the aureus (a slight one) was merely an economy of gold metal in the fabrication of Roman money—a measure probably dictated by the necessities of the times, and of no necessary bearing on the position of money in the law, or even upon its power to correctly measure the value of commodities, services, or debts.<sup>4</sup>

Mommsen and Lenormant conclude their remarks on this subject with the statement that the aureus was

<sup>1</sup> "Lehre von Gelde," pp. 103, *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> "Omne aurum, omne argentum, idque frequenter appendit" (Lampridius, in "Alex. Severus," xxxix).

<sup>3</sup> M. R., iii, 63.

<sup>4</sup> Mill, "Polit. Econ."

eventually so much degraded and debased that it ceased to be regarded as money—that it became merely ingots of bullion, and was weighed out with balance in hand. They refer for their warrant to Vopiscus, in Aurelian, 9 and 12, Probus 4, and Bonosus 15. Upon turning to these texts we merely find that certain payments of gold “phillips,” or silver “antonines,” or copper “sesterces” are mentioned, just as we now say so many Louis d’or, Napoleons, Maria Theresa dollars, etc. Not a word appears in these texts about “ingot-money,” or bullion, or weighing in balances. These phrases and inferences are not only unwarranted by the texts, they entirely pervert and misrepresent the condition of money under the Roman law.

From the second coinage of Constantine to the fall of the Empire, a period of nearly 900 years, the aureus was seldom degraded, and but once debased; it never ceased to be regarded as money. There was no ingot-money; there was no weighing of gold coins, they passed then, as they do now, by tale, and, what is more, it was unlawful to refuse, criminal to alter, and death to deface them or to reduce them to bullion.<sup>1</sup> Says Gibbon, of the Roman imperial revenues: “A large portion of the tribute was paid in money, and of the current coin of the Empire gold alone could be legally accepted.”<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere he says: “Pendants que dans les tributs il exigeoit toujours l’aureus de Constantin;” *i. e.* while as to tributes, they were always exacted in the aureus of Constantine.<sup>3</sup> He should have added: “Or in twelve times their weight of silver.”

Suetonius informs us that upon the death of Caligula an attempt was made to re-establish the Republic.<sup>4</sup> Among the acts of the Senate on this occasion was a decree decrying the tyrant’s money, and requiring it to

<sup>1</sup> Arrian, Epictet, iii, 1; Paul. Sentent. recept. v, 25, 1; Lenormant, i, 237; Digest, xlviii, 13, 1; Suetonius in “Augustus.”

<sup>2</sup> “Decline and Fall,” ii, 64. <sup>3</sup> Misc. works, iii, 460. <sup>4</sup> Claudius, 10.



be brought into the treasury and melted down, "so that, were it possible, both his name and features might be forgotten by posterity."<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, there are nearly an hundred different types of his coins still extant. The Senate of this period was republican; but the lower orders of the people, the soldiers, and the priests were in favour of the hierarchy, the former for the sake of the largesses bestowed by the emperors, the latter on account of their benefices, which, ever since the time of Augustus, had been rendered lucrative and permanent. Claudius, the uncle of Caligula, was either so rapid in his movements, or, as the story goes, was so quickly taken up by the prætorian band, that the design of the Senate proved abortive, and it did not have time to issue coins proclaiming the Republic before Claudius succeeded in securing the support of the guards, and was enabled to suppress the incipient rising. It does not appear that the Senate issued any republican coins on this occasion, but, as we shall presently see, coins of such a character were indeed issued some twenty-five years later, when Nero died and before Galba seized the imperial throne.

There were circumstances connected with the reign of Nero which must have encouraged the growth of a revolutionary spirit, having for its object the overthrow of the hierarchy and worship of Augustus, if not, indeed, the restoration of the ancient Republic.

Nero seems to have been rather sceptical about the divine origin which was claimed for Augustus, and but little disposed to offer adoration to him. When Rome was accidentally burnt, he did not hesitate to rebuild it with funds plundered from the temples in which this profane worship was conducted. By way of retaliation, the enraged priests composed his biography, which they have filled with such horrid crimes that, were the least portion of them true, would render it difficult to understand why the memory of Nero was so dear—as many

<sup>1</sup> Laurence Echard, "Rom. Hist.," ii, 103.

instances prove that it was—to his countrymen for many ages. If Nero was imbued with any religion at all, it was that of Liber Pater, for it is the effigy of this deity which appears most frequently on his coins. Suetonius also informs us that he sacrificed three times a day to another deity, whose worship was clearly allied to that of Bacchus.<sup>1</sup> Otho, who was one of Nero's favourites, professed the religion of Isis, which was either the same or a similar cult.<sup>2</sup> This was the popular religion of Italy, where some remains of it survive to the present day. It was the religion of the poor and down-trodden, for it inculcated peace and friendship, and promised liberty and immortality. Nero's dislike for the religion of the State and his partiality for the cult of Bacchus, coupled with his neglect of discipline, his condescension, familiarity, and joviality, could hardly have failed to warm those hopes of restoring the Republic, which the example and writings of Brutus and Cicero assure us were deeply implanted in the minds of the Roman patricians. Be this as it may, it is certain that upon the news of Nero's death many people, adopting for the emblem of their hopes the Phrygian cap of Liber Pater, ran wildly through the streets, uttering revolutionary cries, and fomenting an excitement that ended by involving the Senate in their design, and the issuance of an Act proclaiming a Republican Government. Among the first measures of the short-lived administration was the coinage of money, designed to announce the restoration. It was, perhaps, unfortunate for these patriots that they began by striking gold, this being essentially a prerogative belonging to the pontifical office, and one whose violation, apart from other circumstances, would be likely of itself to array against them, not only the ecclesiastical orders, but the prejudices of all persons of religious pretensions or of superstitious tendencies.

Besides the gold coins, there were struck silver and

<sup>1</sup> Nero, 56.

<sup>2</sup> Otho, 12.

bronze ones, and so numerous were they that nearly an hundred different types (not merely coins, but types of coins) are still extant. All these must have been struck between June 9, A.D. 68, the date of Nero's death, and July 18, A.D. 69, that of the investiture of Vitellius as sovereign-pontiff. A common type of these coins was a citizen clad in a toga, with a cap of Liberty on his head and a wreath of laurel in his right hand, and the legend LIBERTATI. Reverse: Victory standing on a globe, with crown and palm, and the legend S. P. Q. R. Others have the legends Concordia provinciarum, Concordia prætorianorum, Fides militum, Roma renascens, Libertas, Libertas populi romani, Libertas restituta, Jupiter Capitolinus, Mars ultor, Volcanus ultor, Vesta populi romani quirium, etc.<sup>1</sup>

The person destined to destroy the ephemeral Republic was Ser. Sulpicius Galba, a member of the Quindecimviral Sacred College, a priest of the Augustals and of the Titii, a man of enormous wealth, who never travelled without a retinue of monks and soothsayers, and who, wherever he pitched his camp, erected an altar, swung a censor, and offered frankincense, sacrificial wine, and costly jewels to the gods.<sup>2</sup> This pious Roman enjoyed a proconsulship under Nero in Hispania Tarraconensis, where he appears to have divided his leisure between the celebration of religious ceremonies and the organisation of a conspiracy against the throne of his benefactor. When this conspiracy was ripe, he declared it to be a holy war, "sacred and acceptable to the gods." Upon hearing that Nero was dead, Galba proclaimed himself the Cæsar, hung a dagger from his neck, as a token of his bloody intentions, and, attended by his legions and a formidable body of Spanish recruits, made his way to Rome, where an accession of forces had been organised for him by his

<sup>1</sup> "Revue Numismatique," 1862 and 1865; Lenormant, ii, 375; Cohen, "Mon. Rom."

<sup>2</sup> Suet. "Galba," 4, 8, 9, 18.

ecclesiastical friends. Then Galba's dagger came into play. In the course of a few days the Nymphidians, as the Republicans were called, were all put to death or driven into exile; the statues of Bacchus were destroyed, the Phrygian caps were burnt, the power of the sovereign-pontiff was re-established, and the ill-starred Republic came to an end.

The coinage prerogative of the Pontifex Maximus is made the subject of a strange argument by the illustrious Mommsen. We must premise that after a short reign Galba was assassinated. He was succeeded by Otho, who, because he declared it his intention to restore the Republic, was undoubtedly supported by the Nymphidians and opposed by the ecclesiastics. The latter now turned for aid to Aulus Vitellius. This person was the great-grandson of Q. Vitellius, "questor to Divus Augustus," the grandson of P. Vitellius, "a Roman knight and manager of Augustus' affairs," and the son of Lucius Vitellius, who set the example of worshipping Caligula as the living God, and never approached him without covering his head with a veil, turning his body, as was customary in Roman worship, and falling prostrate upon the ground.<sup>1</sup> The piety of his ancestors must have descended to Aulus, who was rewarded with numerous rich ecclesiastical benefices, the gift of three successive princes,<sup>2</sup> besides the lucrative surveyorship of public buildings, a proconsulship in Africa, and another in Germany. This last office, the gift of Galba, was employed by Vitellius as a means to secure his own elevation to the throne. Indulgence, bribery, and promises were employed with success to win the legions under his command. The sword of Divus Julius was taken down out of the temple of Mars and placed in the hands of the ambitious proconsul; the soldiers saluted him as Imperator and Augustus; and a wreath of laurel "most religiously begirt his brow." Sending a powerful army

<sup>1</sup> Vitellius, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



ahead to overthrow his rival, he began his march to Rome. On the way he was informed of a decisive victory at Bebriacum (now Caveto) and of the death of Otho. Arrived in Rome, Vitellius was soon surrounded by "a numerous assembly of priests," who, together with the faction known as the Veneti, appear to have formed the bulk of his party in the capital. He was invested as Pontifex Maximus on the ominous anniversary of the battle of Allia, and after a brief and troubled reign of eight months was assassinated. The previous reign of Otho extended from the death of Galba, January 15th (A.D. 69), to his own death, April 20th, a period of ninety-five days.<sup>1</sup>

We are now prepared to follow Mommsen's argument. The investiture of the high-priesthood of Rome, after an ancient custom, could only be conferred during the month of March, there being only two instances to the contrary. The coinage of copper, says Mommsen, was the prerogative of the high-priesthood. Otho was invested with the pontificate on March 9th. Within five days of this date he was on his way to meet the troops of Vitellius in Lombardy. Therefore, he had not sufficient time to confer upon the Senate the necessary authority to strike bronze coins. This, in Mommsen's opinion, explains why, although there are gold and silver coins of Otho, there are no bronze ones, except such as were struck in Antioch, and these he accounts for on the supposition that the Antiochians, when they heard of Galba's death and Otho's elevation, presumed that of course Otho would be invested as Pontifex Maximus in March, and, therefore, proceeded at once to strike those bronze coins with his image, which stand in the way of the extraordinary theory propounded by the Prussian *savant*.

To this theory it would be sufficient to reply that if Otho had time to authorise the issue of gold and silver coins, he certainly had time to authorise the issue of bronze ones, and

<sup>1</sup> Lenormant (ii, 416) says April 15th.

that if the vassal Senate of Antioch could venture to strike bronze coins without Otho's written authority, so could the paramount Senate of Rome. But there is a still further and more cogent reply to make. Mommsen is mistaken in regard to the coinage prerogatives of Rome. His theory is that the prerogative of the gold and silver coinage belonged to the imperium and the bronze coinage to the pontificate. The fact was that the prerogative of gold coinage (certainly from the reign of Julius Cæsar) belonged to the pontificate. This is so overwhelmingly proved by the evidence adduced in chapter VI of the present work that nothing further need be said on the subject in this place. In the sweeping interdiction of gold coinage to vassal and subject kings which the Romans maintained for upwards of thirteen centuries, a single exception was made. This related to the kings of Pontus and the Cimmerian Bosphorus. The reason of the exception was purely sacerdotal. The kings of Pontus were the guardians of the temples, the oracle, and the mysteries, of that venerated Mother of God, one of whose effigies, piously conveyed to Rome when Hannibal was at its gates, had saved it from impending ruin. Many of the emblems connected with this worship appeared upon the Pontic coins, and this is what saved them from the melting-pot. Augustus merely provided that these coins should bear on the reverse the image of himself as a mark of the suzerainty of Rome. The last coins that were issued by the Ponto-Bosporian kings previous to this regulation are those of Asander, who reigned as governor from A.U. 704 and as king from A.U. 737. These are aurei of 125 grains each. The earliest under the Augustan regulations are those of Polemon I, stamped with his own head on one side and that of Augustus on the other. From this time onward to the reign of Gallien, when the Temple of Ephesus was destroyed by the Goths, the kings of Pontus and Bosphorus were permitted to strike a few gold coins, upon one side of which appeared their own images and on the other that of the sovereign-pontiff of

Rome, accompanied by the emblems of the Syrian goddess. With Rhescuporis VIII, of the Aspurgian dynasty, A.D. 312-18, this Pontic kingdom, already ruined, came to an end, and with it the feeble series of gold coins struck under these exceptional circumstances. Under Cotys III, a contemporary of Alexander Severus, the Ponto-Bosporian aurei were made of electrum, and from this time onward they became paler and paler, until at last they were made altogether of silver, and, like the Dutch gulden of the present day, were gold coins only in name.

The prerogative of the bronze coinage belonged to the Senate, which, therefore, in the case of Otho, needed no express authority from the pontificate. Whether the silver coinage belonged to the pontificate or to the imperium at this period, is a matter of no consequence in the present connection. Of the gold and silver coins, the former were certainly struck in virtue of Otho's pontifical authority. The bronze coins of Antioch were undoubtedly struck by the Senate of that city in virtue of the authority which had long previously been conferred upon it by the Senate of Rome—an authority which remained in full force so long as it was not abrogated. That no Roman urban bronze coins of Otho are extant may be accounted for either by supposing that such coins were indeed struck but that none have been found, or else by supposing that the Roman Senate had good reason for not striking them. In the latter case the reason is matter of conjecture. The Senate was republican; it was disgusted with emperor-worship; it had but recently engaged in an attempt to restore the Republic; its surviving members, who had returned to Rome, encouraged by the declaration of Otho that his object was to restore the Republic, may have naturally viewed with suspicion his subsequent assumption of the pontifical office and his eagerness to proclaim a continuance of the Empire upon his gold and silver coins, and they may have refrained from lending that sanction to these ambitious proceedings which would

have been implied had they stamped bronze coins with his image.

The following tables show the scale of equivalents under Caracalla :—

*First coinage system of Caracalla, A.D. 211-15. Ratio of silver to gold 12 for 1.*

4 sesterces = 1 silver denarius, of 54 grains.

12½ denarii = 1 half-aureus.

25 denarii = 1 aureus of 112·5 grains.

5 aurei = 1 libra.

Hence 500 sesterces = 1 libra.

So far as it goes, this agrees with Mr. Finlay's scheme.<sup>1</sup> In addition to these equivalents he introduces a silver argenteus of 60 to the libra weight, valued at 1½ denarii. Between this system and the one next to be mentioned the change in the contents of the pieces was gradual.

*Second coinage system of Caracalla, A.D. 215-17. Ratio of silver to gold 12 for 1.*

4 sesterces = 1 denarius, of 45·83 grains.

6 denarii = 1 gold sicilicus, or shilling.

12 denarii = 1 half-aureus.

24 denarii = 1 aureus, of 100 grains,  $\frac{1}{12}$  fine = 91·67 grains fine.

5 aurei = 1 libra.

Hence 480 sesterces = 1 libra.

This system of Caracalla contains all the elements of the decimo-duodecimal, or £. s. d. system, which afterwards became established in the Roman provinces, and still lingers in England and Turkey. The libra, which here contains 458·35 grains fine gold, has since been gradually reduced, until, at the present time, it contains in England but 113·16 grains fine, while the denarius, or penny, which here contains nearly 46 grains, has fallen in England to 7¼ grains, such being the weight of the Maundy money still issued. The relation of copper to silver and of silver to gold varied from decimal (during

<sup>1</sup> Geo. Finlay, "Hist. Greece," ed. 1877, i, 453.



the Republic) to duodecimal (during the Empire), but from first to last, with two exceptions noticed herein, the relation between aureus and libra was quinquennial.

We have seen that the extension of Roman citizenship to the free-born inhabitants of Italy was marked by an important change in the monetary system. So was the extension of the same right to the free-born inhabitants of the provinces, which bears even date with the second coinage system of Caracalla. The tyrant's motive for making this concession was an increase of revenues. One of its fruits was to plant the *£ s. d.* system wherever the Roman eagles flew.

The argenteus, or, as it was sometimes called, the argenteus antonianus, of Caracalla was a silver coin stamped with the rayed effigy of the sovereign-pontiff, that is to say, he was represented surrounded with a halo of light. In the second coinage system of Caracalla this coin appears to have been substituted for two denarii. Thus, the equivalents appear to be 12 argentei, containing 1,020 grains of silver = 1 aureus, containing 91.67 grains of gold, a ratio of about 11.1 for 1. But, in fact, the argenteus antonianus does not appear to have been a full legal tender coin, and when paid for taxes (due in gold aurei) it was only receivable by weight. The ratio of 12 for 1, therefore, remained unimpaired.

The monetary measures of Aurelian are remarkable for the revolt which they occasioned among the guild of moneyers, who, for this reason, must be supposed to have derived considerable profits from the previous system. Aurelian "took away the privilege of coining (silver) money from almost all the local mints of the empire," and only succeeded in crushing the revolt of the moneyers with a loss of 7,000 troops—a striking proof of the number and organisation of the former. Mr. Finlay regards the Roman libra weight, at the time of Constantine, as having fallen to 5,040 English grains, and says that Aurelian struck aurei of 50 to the libra. This

would make them contain 100·8 grains each ; but, in fact, there are none which contain so much gold. Throughout the present work the libra weight of Rome has been uniformly reckoned at 5,250 grains ; but as we have always been guided by the weights of the extant coins, the difference between this assumption and Mr. Finlay's does not affect the weights herein mentioned. The extant aurei of Aurelian weigh from 80·85 to 97·52 grains. Supposing them to be  $\frac{11}{12}$  fine, they contain about 74 to 90 grains fine gold. The equivalents are shown in the following tables :

*First coinage system of Aurelian, A.D. 270. Ratio of silver to gold 12 for 1.*

5 nummi, or minuta	= 1 copper assarion.
4 assarions	= 1 copper denarius, stamped "XX."
20 denarii	= 1 silver argenteus, $35\frac{1}{2}$ grains fine.
25 argentei	= 1 gold aureus, 74 grains fine.
5 aurei	= 1 libra of account.

Hence 500 copper denarii = 1 gold aureus.

*Second coinage system of Aurelian, A.D. 274. Ratio of silver to gold 12 for 1.*

5½ copper nummi	= 1 copper assarion.
4 assarions	= 1 copper denarius, stamped "XXI."
21 denarii	= 1 silver argenteus (new), 45 grains fine.
24 argentei	= 1 gold aureus, 90 grains fine.
5 aurei	= 1 libra of account.

Hence 504 copper denarii = 1 gold aureus.

Mr. Finlay introduces into this system a "denarius of account" equal to 1 argenteus. This was probably a purse of 20 to 21 copper denarii, used as a means of reconciling the two coinages of Aurelian. This would enable all sums couched in denarii to be reckoned at the rate of either 20 to the old argenteus, or 21 to the new. Mr. Finlay's conjecture with regard to the number of English grains in the libra weight appears to have been derived from the number of copper denarii to the aureus, decupled.

*First coinage system of Diocletian, A.D. 284. Ratio of silver to gold 12 for 1 (Finlay).*

5 copper nummi	= 1 copper assarion.
$2\frac{1}{2}$ double nummi	= 1 copper assarion.
4 assarions	= 1 copper denarius.
2 copper denarii	= 1 copper follis.
12 folles	= 1 silver denarius, 45·17 grains standard.
24 silver denarii	= 1 aureus, 90·34 grains standard.
5 aurei	= 1 libra of account.

Hence 576 copper denarii = 1 gold aureus.

The silver denarius of this system was afterwards called the "centenionalis," because, instead of 120 to the libra, as in this system, they became worth 100 to the libra. See below.

*Second coinage system of Diocletian, A.D. 290 (?). Ratio of silver to gold 12 for 1.*

4 copper assarions	= 1 tetrassarion, or copper denarius.
2 copper denarii	= 1 copper follis.
12 folles	= 1 silver denarius, 40 grains, "XCVI."
24 silver denarii	= 1 aureus, 80 grains standard.
5 aurei	= 1 libra of account.

Hence 576 copper denarii = 1 gold aureus.

*Third coinage system of Diocletian, A.D. 302. Ratio of silver to gold 12 for 1.*

4 copper assarions	= 1 tetrassarion, or copper denarius.
2 copper denarii	= 1 copper follis.
8 copper assarions	= 1 copper follis.
12 copper folles	= 1 silver denarius, 36 grains, "XCVI."
24 silver denarii	= 1 aureus 72 grains.
5 aurei	= 1 libra of account.

Hence 576 copper denarii = 1 gold aureus.

Count Borghesi considers the denarius of Diocletian's *Edictum pretium* to be the copper tetrassarion or four-assarion piece, of which 24 went to the silver denarius, stamped "XCVI," meaning 96 assarions.

If we compare this system with the assumptions of Jacob,<sup>1</sup> it will be found that, erroneously assuming

<sup>1</sup> "Hist. Prec. Met.," ed. Phil. 1832, p. 126.

the denarius to weigh 65 grains fine, and that, still further, assuming a wrong equivalent in the money of his own time, he deduced unwarrantably high prices for the whole of Diocletian's schedule.

*First coinage system of Constantine, not later than A.D. 310.*

*Ratio of silver to gold 12 for 1.*

20 copper nummi = 1 copper follis.

12 copper folles = 1 silver denarius, 36 grains fine.

24 silver denarii = 1 gold aureus, 82·7 grs. standard, say 72 grs. fine.

5 aurei = 1 libra of account.

Hence 5760 copper nummi = 1 gold aureus.

Nine well-preserved specimens of the earlier aurei of Constantine, now in the British Museum, weigh on the average 82·7 grains.

*Second coinage system under Constantine, July, A.D. 325.*

*Ratio of silver to gold 12 for 1.<sup>1</sup>*

20 copper nummi = 1 copper follis.

12 folles = 1 silver siliqua, keration, or denarius, 35 grains.

2 siliquas = 1 silver miliaresion, 70 grains.

12 miliaresia = 1 gold solidus, or numisma, stamped "LXXII," 70 grains.

5 solidi = 1 libra of account, 350 grains of standard gold.

Hence 5760 copper nummi = 1 gold aureus.

Type of the aureus: a winged figure with ♀; reverse, the head of Constantine.

These solidi are stamped "LXXII," and, according to Gibbon, Queipo, Finlay, and other writers, were struck 72 to the Roman pound weight. The extant coins, in the best state of preservation, only weigh  $68\frac{2}{3}$  grains, and I have allowed  $1\frac{1}{3}$  grains more to bring them to a round figure of 70 grains. They could hardly have weighed more at any time. The extant miliaresia are of the same weight as the solidi. The copper follis, or purse, consisted of 20 nummi; the silver follis of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  argyres, or

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon (Misc. Essays, iii, 459, ed. 1815) says 14·4, but is mistaken. Consult Queipo, "Sys. Met. et Mon.," ii, 465; Finlay, "Hist. Greece," vol. i, App. ii.



250 siliquas, kerations, or denarii, or 125 miliaresia. This was the ordinary donative to the soldiers; it was equal to (about) two libras of account. By a law of A.D. 356,<sup>1</sup> a merchant is forbidden to travel with more than one thousand folles. This means silver folles, one thousand of which were roughly equal to two thousand libras of account. The gleba senatoria, a sum of gold coins, was the annual capitation-tax of that order.

*Coinage system under Arcadius and Honorius, A.D. 408 (?)*. *Ratio of silver to gold 12 for 1.*

20 copper nummi = 1 copper follis.

12 copper folles = 1 silver siliqua, 35 grains standard.

2 siliquas = 1 silver miliaresion de sportula, 70 grs. standard.

12 miliar. de sport. = 1 gold solidus, 70 grains standard.

4 solidi = 1 libra of account.

Hence 5760 nummi = 1 gold solidus.

So far as the copper coins are concerned, this system is constructed by assuming that there were 20 nummi to the follis and 12 folles to the silver siliqua, as in the second system of Constantine. A law of Arcadius and Honorius (A.D. 397)<sup>2</sup> values the gold solidus at 12 miliaresia de sportula, whilst a law of Theodosius II, (A.D. 428)<sup>3</sup> values the solidus at 24 siliquas. Another law of Theodosius II (A.D. 422) values the libra at 4 solidi, instead of 5, as before.<sup>4</sup> An edict of Honorius and Theodosius II, dated A.D. 418, imposes a mulct of 5 libras of gold upon the members of the provincial council of Gaul for non-attendance at meetings.<sup>5</sup> This evidently means 20 solidi. To regard these libras, as some writers have done, as so many pounds' weight of gold would not only be contrary to usage, but prepos-

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Theod. ix, 23, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cod. Theod., xiii, ii, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. Theod., xii, iv, 1; Nov. Majoriani, vii, 16 (A.D. 458).

<sup>4</sup> Cod. Theod. viii, iv, 27.

<sup>5</sup> "Middle Ages Revisited," chap. xvi, p. 2.

terously excessive. The weight of the solidus in the above table was obtained by weighing a number of the best specimens of the extant coins. Those of Arcadius average 68·51 grains; of Honorius, 68·05 grains. A slight allowance for wear brings them up to 70 grains. Fineness not known, but apparently  $\frac{9}{10}$  to  $\frac{11}{12}$ .

By a law of Valentinian III (A.D. 445),<sup>1</sup> there were 7200 nummi to the solidus, consequently there must have been issued a smaller nummus than that of Arcadius and Honorius. Of these smaller nummi there should be 25 to the follis; thus  $25 \times 12 \times 2 \times 12 = 7200$  nummi to the solidus.<sup>2</sup> Cassiodorus says there were 6000 to the solidus, but I cannot make this out, unless Valentinian changed the tale relations of the copper to the silver coins, or the silver to the gold coins, of which no explicit account appears in the texts. As at this period copper coins largely superseded silver ones in the imperial circulation, such changes are by no means incredible.<sup>3</sup>

*Coinage system under Anastasius, A.D. 491-518. Ratio  
of silver to gold 12 for 1.*

5 noumia "A"	= 1 pentanoumion, "C."
2 pentanoumia	= 1 dekanoumion, "I."
2 dekanoumia	= 1 eikosarion or obolus, "K."
2 eikosaria	= 1 follis, either copper "M" or silver (5·83 grs.).
6 folles	= 1 silver keration, or siliqua, 35 grains. <sup>4</sup>
2 keratia	= 1 silver miliaresion, 70 grains.
12 miliaresia	= 1 gold solidus, or nummus, 70 grains.
5 (?) solidi	= 1 libra of account.

Hence 5760 noumia = 1 gold solidus.

<sup>1</sup> Nov. Val., iii, de pretio solidus, xiv, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Finlay, i, 444.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> In this coinage system of Anastasius, I have followed Mr. Finlay. Sabatier (i, 149) says that in 498 Anastasius made 12 phollertes, or teruntiani, to the siliqua, of which last there were 24 to the solidus. If by phollertes he means eikosaria, or copper oboli, then the system remained the same as shown in the present text.

The letters A, C, I, K, M are stamped on the copper coins, and denote 1, 5, 10, 20, 40 noumia respectively.<sup>1</sup> These marks continued until the time of Phocas, when the Greek M was replaced (on the 40-noumia piece) by the Latin XXXX.<sup>2</sup>

*Coinage system under Heraclius I, A.D. 610-41. Ratio of silver to gold 12 for 1.*

40 copper noumia	= 1 copper follis.
6 folles	= 1 silver siliqua, 34·17 grains standard.
12 folles	= 1 silver drachma, 68·34 grains standard.
12 drachmas	= 1 gold solidus, 69·90 grains standard.
5 (?) solidi	= 1 libra of account.

Hence 5760 noumia = 1 gold solidus.

The weight of the solidus in this system is that of the extant coins in the best state of preservation. The legal weight may have been a grain more. The contents of fine gold in the solidus was 65 grains, and the fine silver contents of the siliqua  $32\frac{1}{2}$  grains. It was upon the solidus of this system that the Arabians built their gold dinar. They evidently weighed and assayed a number of the solidi in actual circulation, and finding them to contain exactly 65 grains of fine gold, determined this for the contents of the dinar. In their earlier coinages they also adopted the silver drachma of 65 grains fine and the Roman ratio of 12 for 1; but this was swept away by Abd-el-Melik, and from his time forward nothing except the dinar remained to connect the Moslem coinages with the Empire of Augustus.

*Coinage system under Justinian II (Rhinothmetus), A.D. 685-95, and again 705-11. Ratio of silver to gold 12 for 1.*

40 copper noumia	= 1 copper follis.
6 folles	= 1 silver siliqua, 34·17 grains standard.
24 siliquas	= 1 gold solidus, 68·35 grains standard.
5 (?) solidi	= 1 libra of account.

Hence 5760 noumia = 1 gold solidus.

On this coinage appears the earliest unquestionable

<sup>1</sup> Finlay, i, 445.

<sup>2</sup> Humphreys, 371.

Christian legend and the earliest effigy of Christ. These sacred emblems appear on the gold solidus, described by Sabatier: dN. IVSTINIANVS. SERV. ChPSTI. Full-faced bust of Justinian, diademed, with cross on top, the emperor clothed in a tight-fitting robe, ornamented with strings of pearls arranged in squares. In his right hand a "potency" cross on three steps; in his left hand a globe, on which appears the word "PAX," the same surmounted by a Greek cross. Reverse: dN. Ihs. ChS. REX REGNANTIVM. Full-faced bust of Christ. The extremities of the arms of a small cross appear behind the ears and above the head. Under the left arm a book.

There are so few coins extant of this period that, between the reigns of Leo Isaurus and Michael I, or from A.D. 718 to 811, Sabatier, whose work is believed to contain a complete list of all the Byzantine types, only furnishes seventy-three types during the entire interval. As this is an interval of the greatest interest to the Western world, because it embraces the coinage system of Charlemagne, we have endeavoured to fill the blank thus left with the system of Nicephorus I. In the table of equivalents we have been guided by Sabatier and the mediæval texts cited in Guerard's "*Polyptique d'Irminon*" and De Vienne's "*Livre d'Argent*." Queipo has noticed that the silver coins of Basileus II (A.D. 962), Romanus I (A.D. 918), Nicephorus II (A.D. 963-9), and the emperors of Trebizond are assimilated in weight to the Arabian dirhem or its subdivisions.<sup>1</sup> In like manner, it is to be remarked that the gold coins of all the Byzantine emperors, from Heraclius onward, are closely allied to the Arabian dinar of 65 grains fine. This remark includes the coins of Nicephorus I.

<sup>1</sup> Table lxi, vol. ii, p. 464.



*Coinage system of Nicephorus I (Logothetes), son of Irene,*

A.D. 802-11. *Ratio of silver to gold 12 for 1.*

3 copper folles	= 1 silver half-silique, $15\frac{7}{8}$ grains fine.
2 half-siliqueas	= 1 silver silique, $31\frac{3}{4}$ grains fine.
$1\frac{1}{2}$ siliqueas	= 1 Arabian dirhem, $46\frac{7}{8}$ grains fine.
2 siliqueas	= 1 miliaresion, $63\frac{1}{2}$ grains fine.
3 miliaresia	= 1 gold tetarteron, or sicilicus, $15\frac{7}{8}$ grains fine.
4 miliaresia	= 1 gold triens, $21\frac{1}{6}$ grains fine.
12 miliaresia	= 1 gold solidus, $63\frac{1}{2}$ grains fine.
5 solidi	= 1 libra of account, $317\frac{1}{2}$ grains fine.

Hence 12 half-siliqueas, or denarii = 1 sicilicus, or tetarteron.

20 sicilici, or shillings = 1 libra.

240 denarii, or pennies = 1 libra.

The tetarteron, or gold shilling, appears in both earlier and latter coinage systems, for example, in the monetary denominations of Nicephorus II and Phocas. Tetarteron means the fourth part, and is the Greek equivalent of the Latin *quartarius*, as *quartarius vini*,<sup>1</sup> whence our quart of wine, meaning the quarter of a gallon. Tetarteron is also the equivalent of the Latin sicilicus, or fourth part, whence came our shilling, which was the fourth of the solidus and twentieth of the libra, as it is still. Gold shillings or quarter-solidi were struck by many of the Roman sovereigns, and are not uncommon in the great numismatic collections. In the same sense that sicilicus was issued for the fourth of the aureus, scrupulum was anciently used for the ninth and afterwards the tenth of the aureus.

The solidus of the above system is taken from the unique specimens extant attributed to Irene and Nicephorus, both of which are described and portrayed by Sabatier. The former has simply "Irene, Basileus," with her bust and a cross on both sides; the latter has "Nicephorus Basileus," with his bust on one side, and "IhSuS. XRISTVS. nICA," with a potency cross on the other. Nike, Nika, Nica, etc., means the Victor or Victorious, and it appears in the name of Nicephorus himself.

<sup>1</sup> Livy, v, 47.

# 100 HISTORY OF MONETARY SYSTEMS IN VARIOUS STATES.

*Coinage system under Basil I, A.D. 867-86. Ratio of silver to gold 12 for 1.*

20 noumia	= 1 eikosarion.
2 eikosaria, or oboli	= 1 copper follis.
6 folles	= 1 silver keration, or siliqua, gross weight 41·46 = 34 grains standard. <sup>1</sup>
2 siliquas	= 1 miliaresion, 68 grains standard.
12 miliaresia	= 1 gold solidus, 68 grains standard.
5 solidi	= 1 libra of account.

Hence 5760 noumia = 1 gold solidus.

*Coinage system under Basil II and Constantine VIII, A.D. 976-1025. Ratio of silver to gold 12 for 1.*

20 noumia	= 1 obolus.
2 oboli	= 1 copper follis.
6 folles	= 1 silver siliqua, 41·5 grains gross, or 34 grains standard.
2 siliquas	= 1 miliaresion, 68 grains standard.
12 miliaresia	= 1 gold solidus, 68 grains standard.
5 solidi	= 1 libra of account.

Hence 5760 noumia = 1 gold solidus.

It will scarcely fail to be remarked that the number of noumia to the solidus exactly corresponds to the number of grains in the troy pound of the Western world—a circumstance that, remembering the common practice of the Romans to apply their subdivisions of money to measures of various kinds, suggests the origin of the troy pound weight. It has been the common method of metrologists to seek for the origin of moneys in weights. The present example, and many others mentioned in my “Middle Ages Revisited,” leads to the belief that the converse is the fact, and that the origin of weights is to be found in moneys. In other words, that the first weights were coins, and that weights descended from coins, rather than coins from weights. This consideration, should it hold good, would vitiate a large portion of the laborious metrological work of Boeckh, Mommsen, Queipo, and others.

With the system of Basil II ends our review of the

<sup>1</sup> This means when reduced to the same standard as the gold coins.

coinages of the Roman Empire, because, from his reign to the fall of Constantinople, they underwent no important changes; indeed, according to Finlay, none at all. The aureus of the succeeding Basilei varied from 68 grains, in the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, to 65 grains in that of John Comnenus, and rose again in that of Eudoxia to 68 grains, where it remained to the end; while the denarius, siliqua, or argenteus, of which 24 went to the aureus, was coined at just half these weights, thus always maintaining the sacerdotal ratio of 12 silver to 1 gold. Even after the Empire fell and the Western States, as Venice, Florence, Amalfi, Aragon, etc., began to coin gold, they maintained the same ratio of 12 to 1 in their coinages, until this ratio came into conflict with the Moorish ratios in Andalusia and the Gothic ratios of the Baltic and Low Countries.

This review would be incomplete without some reference to the Western coinage systems that grew out of those of the Byzantine Empire, and especially the systems of the Meringovian and Carlovingian dynasties. As a rule, political economists of the present day do not take the trouble to study the history of money; it is much easier to imagine it and to deduce the principles of this imaginary knowledge. Therefore but little information of a reliable character relating to this subject appears in their works. One of the most experienced, and yet the most recent writers of this class, repeats the idle tale to be found in many economical works, that Charlemagne invented the £ *s. d.* system still used in England.<sup>1</sup> In fact, Charlemagne neither invented the system nor struck the coins requisite to complete it. The libra was a money of account, the solidus he never struck; his coinage began and ended with the denarius, which formed merely the tail end of a system whose beginning belonged to a remote antiquity, and whose principal elements were still firmly held in the grasp of the Basileus.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Henry Dunning MacLeod's "Bi-Metallism," London, 1894.

The prerogative and monopoly of the gold coinage, except as to the Ponto-Bosporian guardians of the Asian temples and mysteries of Greek and Roman veneration, was never parted with, to subject-kings and vassal states, by the sovereign-pontiff of Rome. Even the Roman proconsuls, illustrious and powerful as were many of these officers, were not permitted to exercise this right until it was reluctantly conceded by Anastasius I to Clovis, the Merovingian king of the Franks, and Amalric, king of the Visigoths of Spain, both of whom were proconsuls of Rome.

In his earlier coinages, Clovis (A.D. 481-512) appears to have adopted a ratio of 8 silver for 1 gold—a convenient mean between the Roman ratio of 12 and the Indian ratios of  $6\frac{1}{4}$  to  $6\frac{1}{2}$ , which, even at that early period, must have exercised an influence upon the trade of the Baltic.<sup>1</sup> In his later coinages the ratio was 10 for 1.

The principal coins of Clovis were the solidus and triente, both of excellent gold, and both stamped with the effigy of Anastasius. Clovis also coined silver denarii, but at what tale relation to the gold coins is uncertain. The marks of Roman suzerainty which he placed upon his coins were repeated on those of his successors, Clodomir, Childebert I, and Clothaire I. At a later period the coinage of copper was added to that of gold and silver, and the marks of suzerainty were sometimes limited to the gold coins, until in the middle coinages of Theodebert, king of Austrasia (A.D. 534-47), they disappeared altogether, and in their place stood the effigy of the barbarian king and the legend D. N. THEODEBERTVS. PP. AUG., or D. N. THEODEBERTVS. VICTOR.<sup>2</sup> This, of course, was a proclamation of defiance to the Basileus, and as such it was resented by Justinian and recorded by Procopius.<sup>3</sup> Notwithstanding the decrepitude of the Empire, its prestige was still so great, and veneration for its sacerdotal claims so widespread, that the

<sup>1</sup> "Ancient Britain," index word, "Pagan Hansa."

<sup>2</sup> Lenormant, ii, 449.

<sup>3</sup> Procop. "Bell. Goth.," iii, 33.



example of Theodebert was avoided by his contemporaries, who refrained, with superstitious horror, from the impiety of striking gold without the authority of the Basileus. Yet Theodebert's revolt was not altogether without its influence. Little by little the marks of Byzantine suzerainty upon their rude coinages became fainter, and by the seventh century the Merovingian coins and monetary regulations gave evidence of little more than a trace of Roman suzerainty. The following table of weights and valuations is derived from the coins and texts cited by Guerard, Lenormant, De Vienne, and others :

*Typical coinage system of the Merovingian kings during the seventh century. Ratio of silver to gold 10 for 1.*

12 (?) copper oboli	= 1 silver denarius, $17\frac{1}{2}$ grains.
10 denarii	= 1 gold sicilicus, $17\frac{1}{2}$ grains.
$13\frac{1}{3}$ denarii	= 1 gold triente, $23\frac{1}{2}$ grains.
40 denarii	= 1 gold solidus, or coronatus, $70\frac{1}{2}$ grains.
5 solidi	= 1 libra of account.

It was to these coronati that Pope Gregory referred when he said that they would not pass in Italy.<sup>1</sup>

The Empire of Gaul lost by Byzantium was soon recovered by Rome. An alliance with Pepin the Short ended the Merovingian dynasty, established the temporal power of the Roman bishops, and erected the dynasty of the Carolingians. The coinage regulations, however, still continued subject to the Basileus, and doubtless formed part of that definitive treaty of partition which was made between Nicephorus I and Charlemagne at Seltz in 802 or 803.<sup>2</sup> Under this treaty it would seem that the coinage of gold was expressly reserved to the Basileus and of copper to the Byzantine Senate ; for as a matter of fact from the accession of Charlemagne to the downfall of the Byzantine Empire in 1204, neither gold nor copper coins, but only silver ones, were struck by any

<sup>1</sup> Freheri, 39.

<sup>2</sup> Authorities differ as to this date. Consult "Middle Ages Revisited."

Christian prince except the Basileus. The ratio of silver to gold, which the Merovingians had fixed at 10 for 1, was gradually changed by Charlemagne to the sacerdotal ratio of 12. It is this change of ratio which explains the frequently-altered weights of Charlemagne's denarii, and his tale relations of the Byzantine sou d'or, or gold sicilicus (shilling) to the libra of account.

*Carlovingian coinage system under Pepin, A.D. 754. Ratio of silver to gold 10 for 1.*

10 silver denarii, $17\frac{1}{2}$ grains (?)	= 1 petite sou d'or, $17\frac{1}{2}$ grains (?)
22 sous d'or	= 1 livre de compte.

These sous d'or were coined by the Basileus. Sometimes the worn triente took the place of the sicilicus. The copper coins which circulated in Western Europe were also of Byzantine mintage. The silver coins alone were struck in the West. Pepin not only refrained from the coinage of gold, he forbade it to the princes subject to his authority. In both these respects he was followed by Charlemagne and all the Western emperors until the reign of Frederick II.

*Carlovingian coinage system under Charlemagne, A.D. 803. Ratio of silver to gold 12 for 1.*

12 Byzantine coppers	= 1 Carlovingian silver denier, $17\frac{1}{2}$ grains.
12 deniers	= 1 Byzantine sou d'or, $17\frac{1}{2}$ grains.
20 sous d'or	= 1 livre de compte.
Hence 240 deniers = 1 libra.	

With regard to the value of gold and silver one to the other, it is to be observed that there are four distinct periods in the history of this relation. These are :

First, the period from the accession of Julius Cæsar to the fall of the Roman or Greek Empire in 1204, during which time the Roman government, by monopolising the coinage of gold, and fixing the ratio between gold coins and silver,

whether coined or otherwise, at 12 for 1, kept it constant and unaltered at that figure. As, during the same interval, the ratio in the Orient and the Arabian States was about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  for 1, and in the Gothic States 8 for 1, some variation from the Roman ratio is to be observed near the frontiers of the Empire, but not elsewhere.

Second, the period from the fall of Constantinople to the enactment of Individual, Private, or Free coinage in Holland, England, and other States in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During this interval the various princes of the Occident began to coin gold, each for himself, and they fixed the ratio to suit their own interests or necessities. This period is characterised by the wildest dissonance of the ratio. It was a contest, on the one hand, between monarchs, who alternately raised their gold coins to the value of nearly twenty times their weight in silver (France in 1313), and raised their silver coins to the value of an equal weight in gold (France in 1359); and, on the other hand, their subjects and foreigners, who, until they adopted measures of avoidance or reprisal, were made the victims of these frequent and ruinous changes of value.

Third, the period from the adoption of individual or free coinage to the years 1871-5. The principal States of the Occident ceased to coin silver for individual account at the dates last mentioned. During this interval the ratio of value between gold and silver was the mint price, or the result of a competition between the mints of the principal States. For example, the value of gold in silver, during this interval, never rose above the highest price paid for it at any important mint, and never fell below the price paid for it at any other important mint. In other words, nobody gave more nor less in one metal for the other than the mints gave, and the mints gave whatever the law directed. The so-called "market value" of this period was simply the average mint price, and was, therefore, rather what may be termed an international mint ratio.

Fourth, the period since 1871-5, when silver, being

coined by the principal States on their own account alone, there arose in the West, for the first time since the establishment of free coinage, a general market value between gold and silver, entirely distinct from, and having only a remote relation to, their mint value.



## CHAPTER VI.

### THE SACRED CHARACTER OF GOLD.

Coinage the surest mark of sovereignty—Abstention of the Christian princes from mining and coining gold, from Pepin to Frederick II—Dates of the earliest Christian coinages of gold in the West—Inadequate reasons hitherto given to explain this singular circumstance—Opinions of Camden—Ruding—Father Joubert—The true reason given by Procopius—The coinage of gold was a Sacred Myth and a prerogative of the Roman emperor—Its origin and history—Braminical Code—The Myth during the Roman Republic—During the Civil Wars—Conquest of Egypt by Julius Cæsar—Seizure of the Oriental trade—The Sacred Myth embodied in the Julian Constitution—Popularity and longevity of the Myth—It was transmitted by the pagan to the Christian Church of Rome, and adopted by the latter—Its importance in throwing light upon the relations of the Western kingdoms to the Roman Empire.

THE right to coin money has always been and still remains the surest mark and announcement of sovereignty. A curious proof of this is afforded by the story told by Edward Thomas, in his "Pathan Kings of Delhi," of that Persian commander who, being suspected of a treasonable design towards his sovereign, diverted suspicion from himself to the king's son by coining and circulating pieces of money with the latter's superscription.<sup>1</sup> Says Mr. Thomas: "Some, perhaps many, of the Mahometan coinages of India constituted merely a sort of numismatic proclamation or assertion and declaration of conquest and supremacy." In ancient times such conquest and supremacy often embraced the triumph of an alien religion. Where printing was uncommon and the newspaper unknown, a new gold or silver coinage was the most effective means of proclaiming the

<sup>1</sup> "History Money," p. 89.

accession of a new ruler or the era of a new religion.<sup>1</sup> At the period of the earliest voyages of the Portuguese to India, the same significance was attached to the prerogative of coinage. Says Duarte Barbosa: "There are many other lords in Malabar who wish to call themselves kings, but they are not so, because they are not able to coin money. . . . The king of Cochin could not coin money, nor roof his house with tiles, under pain of losing his fief (to the king of Calicut, his suzerain); but since the Portuguese went there, he has been released from this, so that now he lords it absolutely and coins money." Father Du Halde, in his "History of China," makes a similar statement in reference to that country. Says he: "There were formerly twenty-two several places where money was fabricated, at which time there were princes so powerful that they were not contented with the rank of duke, but assumed the dignity of sovereigns; yet they never durst attempt to fabricate money, for, however weak the emperor's authority was, the coins have always had the stamp that he commanded."<sup>2</sup>

The custom of employing coins as a means of promulgating religious doctrine and official information was adopted by the Romans during the Commonwealth. It may be traced, at a later period, in the otherwise superfluous coinages of the Empire. Julius, Hadrian, and Theodoric depicted the principal events of their reigns upon their coins. In the absence of felted paper and printing ink, it was the only means the ancients had of printing and disseminating the most important intelligence and opinions. Addison correctly regarded the Roman coinage as a sort of "State Gazette," in which all the great events of the Empire were periodically published.

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon declared that were all other records destroyed, the travels of the Emperor Hadrian could be shown from his coins alone. The Emperor Theodoric the Goth stamped his coins with the view to instruct posterity ("History Money," p. 89, n.).

<sup>2</sup> Duarte Barbosa, pp. 103 and 157; Du Halde, ii, 293.

It had this advantage over any other kind of monument : it could not be successfully mutilated, forged, or suppressed. Especially is the fabrication and issuance of full legal-tender coins the mark of sovereignty. Towards the end of the Republic and during the Empire this attribute belonged alone to gold coins ; therefore, to speak of these is to speak of full legal-tender money. Vassal princes, nobles, and prelates, under the warrant of their suzerains, everywhere struck coins of silver, which, although legal tender in their own dominions, were not so elsewhere, unless by special warrant from the Basileus ; but no Christian vassal ever struck gold without intending to proclaim his own independent sovereignty and without being prepared to defy the suzerainty of the Cæsars.

Lenormant, in his great work on the "Moneys of Antiquity," holds similar language. "With the exception of the Sassanian coinages down to the reign of Sapor III, it is certain that the coinage of gold, no matter where, was always intended as a marked defiance to the pretensions of sovereignty by the Roman Empire ; for example, during the period of the Republic, about B.C. 86, the gold coinages of Mithridates, in various places over which he had extended his conquests. The supremacy of Rome was so widely accepted both East and West, that for many centuries neither the provinces subject directly or indirectly to the Basileus, nor even the more or less independent States adjacent to the Empire, ever attempted to coin gold money. When gold was struck by such States it was as a local money of the Roman sovereign."<sup>1</sup> As such it yielded him seigniorage ; it bore his stamp ; its use implied and acknowledged his suzerainty, both spiritual and temporal ; while its issuance was subject to such regulations as he choosed to impose.

Commodus refused to believe that his favourite Perennius aspired to the Empire until he was shown some pieces

<sup>1</sup> Lenormant, ii, 427.

of provincial money, upon which appeared the effigy of his faithless minister.<sup>1</sup> Elagabalus condemned Valerius Pætus to death for striking some bijoux pieces of gold for his mistress, upon which he had imprudently caused his own image to be stamped.<sup>2</sup> The very first act of a Roman sovereign after his accession, election, or proclamation by the legions, was to strike coins, that act being deemed the surest mark of sovereignty. Vespasian, when proclaimed by the legions in Asia, hurried to strike gold and silver coins at Antioch.<sup>3</sup> Antoninus Diadumenus, the son of Macrinus, was no sooner nominated by the legions as the associate of his father in the Empire, than the latter hastened to strike money at Antioch in his son's name, in order to definitively proclaim his accession to the purple.<sup>4</sup> When Septimius Severus accepted his rival, Albinus, as his associate on the imperial throne, he coined money at Rome in the name of Albinus as evidence to the latter of his agreement and good faith.<sup>5</sup> Vopiscus, in his life of Firmus, asserts that the latter was no brigand, but a lawful sovereign, in whose name money had been coined. Pollion says that when Trebellius was elected emperor by the inhabitants of Isaurus, he immediately hastened to strike money as the sign of his accession to power.<sup>6</sup> When the partisans of Procopius, the rival of Valens, sought to win Illyria to their master's cause, they exhibited the gold aurei which bore his name and effigy, as evidence that he was the rightful head of the Roman Empire.<sup>7</sup> Moses of Khorene informs us that "when a new king of Persia ascended the throne, all the money in the royal treasury was recoined with his effigy."<sup>8</sup> Even when countermarks were stamped upon the Roman coins, care was taken never to deface

<sup>1</sup> Herodian, i, 9.

<sup>5</sup> Herodian, ii, 15.

<sup>2</sup> "Dion. Cass.," lxxix, 4.

<sup>6</sup> "Thirty Tyrants," xxv.

<sup>3</sup> "Tact. Hist.," ii, 82.

<sup>7</sup> "Ammianus Marcellinus," xxvi, 7.

<sup>4</sup> Lapridinus, in "Diadumenus," 2. <sup>8</sup> Lavoix, MS., p. 12.



the effigy of the sacred emperor.<sup>1</sup> The interchange of religious antipathy and defiance, which Abd-el-Melik and Justinian stamped upon their coins, is related elsewhere. Indeed, history is full of such instances. The coinage of money, and especially of gold, was always the prerogative of supreme authority.<sup>2</sup> The jealous monopoly of gold coinage by the sovereign-pontiff ascends to the Achimenides of Persia, that is to say, to Cyrus and Darius;<sup>3</sup> in fact, it ascends to the Bramins of India. The Greek and Roman Republics broke it down; Cæsar set it up again.

Assuming the common belief that the Christian princes of mediæval Europe were in all respects independent sovereigns before the destruction of the Roman Empire by the fall of Constantinople, in 1204, it is difficult to explain the circumstance that none of them ever struck a gold coin before that event, and that all of them struck gold coins immediately afterwards. There was no abstention from gold coinage by either the Goths, the Celts, the Greeks, or the Romans-of-the-Commonwealth; there was no abstention from gold coinage by the Merovingian Franks or the Arabians of later ages; there was no lack of gold mines or of gold river-washings in any of the provinces or countries of the West; there was no want of knowledge concerning the manner of raising, smelting, or stamping gold; yet we find the strange fact that wherever the authority of the Roman sovereign-pontiff was established, there and then the coinage, nay, sometimes even the production, of gold at once stopped. It must be borne in mind that it is not the use of gold coins to which reference is made, but the coinage—the minting and stamping, of gold. In England gold coins, except during the early days of the Heptarchy, have been in use from the remotest era to the present time. Such coins were either Gothic (including Saxon), Celtic,

<sup>1</sup> Lenormant, ii, 389; iii, 389.

<sup>2</sup> Lavoix, MS., p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Lenormant, ii, 195, 196.

Frankish or Moslem, but never Roman, unless struck by or under the sovereign-pontiff. In a word, for more than thirteen centuries—that is, from Augustus to Alexis IV—the gold coins of the Empire, East and West, were struck exclusively by the Basileus. Again, from the eighth to the thirteenth century, a period of five hundred years, we have no evidence of any native Christian gold coinage under any of the kings of Britain. With the exception of a unique and dubious coin, now in the Paris collection, which bears the effigy of Louis le Debonnaire, the same is true of France, Germany, Italy ; indeed, of all the provinces of the Empire whose princes were Christians.

Before pointing out the significance of these circumstances, it will be useful to clear the ground by examining the explanations of others. Camden conjectures that “ignorance” was the cause ; but Dr. Ruding very justly remarks that it could not have been ignorance of refining or coining gold, because silver, a much more difficult metal to treat, and one that in its natural state is nearly always combined with gold, had been refined and coined in Britain for many ages.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Ruding and Lord Liverpool both have supposed that coins of gold were not wanted during the middle ages ; but this is worse than Camden’s conjecture, for it flies in the face of a palpable fact. That gold coins were indeed wanted is proved by the very common use of gold aurei, solidi, folles, or besants throughout all this period. Not only this, but the Arabian gold dinar, or mancus, was current in all the countries of the North ; and either this coin or the gold maravedi was the principal medium of exchange in the trade of the Baltic.

Another explanation which has been advanced is, that the confusion caused by the conquests or revolts of the barbarians resulted in the closure of the gold mines, and rendered gold metal too scarce for coinage into money. Explanations which take no heed of the truth, made

<sup>1</sup> Camden’s “Remains,” art. “Money,” p. 241.

either in ignorance or desperation, may be multiplied indefinitely without serving any useful end. The facts were precisely the reverse of what is here assumed. It was the barbarians who opened the gold mines and the Christians who closed them. The heretical Moslem, Franks, Avars, Saxons, Norsemen, and English all opened gold mines during the mediæval ages. The moment these people became Christians, or were conquered or brought under the control of the Roman hierarchy, their gold mines began to be abandoned and closed.<sup>1</sup>

All such futile explanations are effectually answered by the common use of Byzantine gold coins throughout Christendom. In England, for example, the exchequer rolls relating to the mediæval ages, collated by Madox, prove that payments in gold besants were made every day, and that gold coins, as compared with silver ones, were as common then as now.<sup>2</sup> If metal had been wanted for making English gold coins, it was to be had in sufficiency and at once. All that was necessary was to throw the besants into the English melting-pot. As for the feeble suggestion that for five hundred years no Christian princes wished to coin gold so long as the Basileus was willing to coin for them, when the coinage of gold was the universally recognised mark of sovereignty, and when, also, the profit, as we shall presently see, was one hundred per cent., it is scarcely worth answering. The greatest historians of the mediæval ages—Montesquieu, Gibbon, Robertson, Hallam, Guizot, etc.—have neither remarked these facts nor sought for any explanation concerning the gold coinage. In their days the science of numismatics had not yet freed itself from the toils of the sophist and forger, and it offered but little aid to historical investigations. It has since become their chief reliance.

<sup>1</sup> "History Precious Metals"; "History Money."

<sup>2</sup> Lord Liverpool does not appear to have perused this valuable and instructive work.

The true reason why gold money was always used but never coined by the princes of the mediæval empire, relates not to any circumstances connected with the production, plentifulness, scarcity, or metallurgical treatment of gold, but to that hierarchical constitution of pagan Rome, which afterwards with modifications became the constitution of Christian Rome. Under this constitution, and from the epoch of Julius to that of Alexis, the mining and coinage of gold was a prerogative attached to the office of the sovereign-pontiff, and was, therefore, an article of the Roman constitution and of the Roman religion. Although it is probable that during the dark and middle ages the prerogative of mining was violated by many who would never have dared to commit the more easily-detected sacrilege of coinage, there are no evidences of such violation by Christians.

The mines of Kremnitz, which contained both silver and gold, and which Agricola says were opened in A.D. 550, were in the territory of the pagan Avars; the gold washings of the Elbe, re-opened in 719, were in the hands of the pagan Saxons and Merovingian Franks; so were the gold washings of the Rhine, Rhone, and Garonne; the gold mines of Africa and Spain, re-opened in the eighth century, were worked by the heretical Moslem; the gold mines of Kaurzim, in Bohemia, opened in 998, were managed by pagan Czechs. Whenever and wherever Christianity was established, gold mining appears to have been relinquished to the Basileus or abandoned altogether. So long as the Byzantine empire lasted, neither the emperor of the West, nor any of the other princes of Christendom, except the Basileus himself, seem to have conducted or permitted gold mining.

With regard to gold coinage the facts are simple and indisputable. Julius Cæsar erected the coinage of gold into a sacerdotal prerogative; this prerogative was attached to the sovereign and his successors, not as the emperors, but as the high priests of Rome; it was enjoyed by every



Basileus, whether pagan or Christian, of the joint and Eastern empires from the Julian conquest of Alexandria to the papal destruction of Constantinople; the pieces bore the rayed effigies of the deified Cæsars, and some of them the legend "Theos Sebastos." When emperor-worship was succeeded by Christianity they bore the effigy of Jesus Christ.<sup>1</sup> It would have been sacrilege, punishable by torture, death, and anathema for any other prince than the sovereign-pontiff to strike coins of gold; it would have been sacrilege to give currency to any others; hence no other Christian prince, not even the pope of Rome, nor the sovereign of the Western or Mediæval empire, attempted to coin gold while the ancient Empire survived.

Says Procopius: "Every liberty was given by the Basileus Justinian I to subordinate princes to coin silver as much as they choosed, but they must not strike gold coins, no matter how much gold they possessed;" and he intimates that the distinction was neither new nor its significance doubtful. Theophanus (eighth century), Cedrenus (eleventh century), and Zonaras (twelfth century) state that Justinian II broke the peace of 686 with Abd-el-Melik because the latter paid his tribute in pieces of gold which bore not the effigy of the Roman emperor. In vain the Arabian caliph pleaded that the coins were of full weight and fineness, and that the Arabian merchants would not accept coins of the Roman type. Here are the exact words of Zonaras: "Justinian broke the treaty with the Arabs because the annual tribute was paid, not in pieces

<sup>1</sup> William Till (p. 39) says that Justin II (A.D. 565-78) first struck the aureus (solidus, or besant) with the effigy of Christ and the legend "Dominus Noster, Jesus Christus, rex regnantium," and that this practice was observed down to the fall of the Byzantine empire. This statement is erroneous in several respects. The first name of Christ on the Roman coins was never spelled "Jesus," but, successively, "Ihs," "Issus," and "Iesus." The effigy of Christ did not appear on the coins of Justin II. It first appeared on a gold solidus of Justinian II (Rhinotmetus), who reigned 685-95, and again 705-11 (Sabatier, "Monnaies Byzantines," ii, 22).

with the imperial effigy, but after a new type ; and it is not permitted to stamp gold coins with any other effigy but that of the emperor of Rome.”<sup>1</sup> The “new type” complained of probably had as much to do with the matter as the absence of Justinian’s effigy. That new type was the effigy of Abd-el-Melik with a drawn sword in his hand, and the Mahometan religious formula : a triple offence—an insult, a defiance, and a sacrilege.

The privilege accorded to subject-kings with regard to silver was extended to both mining and coinage. Silver mining and coinage was conducted by all the Western princes, the Western emperor included. The pope disposed of a few coining privileges to new or weak States, or dependent bishoprics, the Western emperors disposed of others to the commercial cities ; but for the most part silver was coined by the feudal princes, each for himself, and not under any continuing prerogative of the empire, whether ancient or mediæval.

The following table shows some of the earliest gold coinages of Christian Europe :—

1225. NAPLES (Amalfi).—Aurei, or augustals, of Frederick II ; 81 to 82 English grains fine.

1225. LEON.—Gold ducats of Alfonso, gross weight  $54\frac{1}{2}$  English grains, with the following inscription in Arabic : “ In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, God is One. He who believes and is baptised will be

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<sup>1</sup> From the period A.D. 645, when their conquests deprived the Roman empire of the bulk of its Asiatic and African possessions, to about the beginning of the eighth century, the Arabians struck coins with the effigy of the Roman emperor and the emblems  $\text{P}$  and the cross. At that period they struck coins still with these emblems, but in place of the emperor’s effigy, that of Abd-el-Melik with a drawn sword in hand. Like the maravedis of Henry III (1257) and the nobles of Edward III (1344), the issue of these coins amounted to an assertion of independent sovereignty, and as such was resented by Justinian. To the nummular proclamation of the Arabian : “ The servant of God, Abd-el-Melik, Emir-el-Moumenim,” the Roman replied : “ Our Lord Justinian, servant of Christ.”

saved. This dinar was struck in Medina Tolei-tola, in the year 1225, month of Saphar."<sup>1</sup> Here is a curious mixture of doctrines and dates.

1225. PORTUGAL.—Gold ducats of Sancho I, weighing  $54\frac{1}{2}$  grains gross.  
 1250. FRANCE.—Gold agnels, or dinars, struck for Louis IX by Blanche, his mother. Weight  $63\frac{1}{3}$  grains gross.<sup>2</sup>  
 1252. FLORENCE.—Republican zecchins or florins, 56 grains fine.  
 1257. ENGLAND.—Pennies, or maravedis, of Henry III, 43 grains fine.  
 1276. VENICE.—Zecchins or sequins,  $55\frac{3}{4}$  grains fine.  
 1300. BOH. AND POL.—Ducats of Veneslas,  $54\frac{1}{4}$  grains gross.  
 1316. AVIGNON.—Sequins of Pope John XXII,  $54\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine.<sup>3</sup>  
 1496. DEN. AND NOR.—Eight-mark piece of John, 240 grains gross.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Although this can hardly be deemed a Christian coin, I have included it in the table. Heiss publishes a gold coin with "Ferdinand" on one side, and "In nomine Patris et Filii Spiritus Sanctus" on the other, which he ascribes to Ferdinand I (II), 1157-88; but Saez is positive that they are sueldos of Ferdinand II (III), 1230-52. There is about the same difference of time between the Julian and Christian eras. The next gold coins, after those of Alfonso, were either the sueldos of Barba Robea, in the thirteenth century, or the Alfonsines struck by Alfonso XI, of Castile, 1312-50. The latter had a castle of three turrets on one side, and a rampant lion on the other. Gross weight 67.89 English grains (Heiss, i, 51; iii, 218).

<sup>2</sup> Baron Malestroict ("Inst.," p. 4) ascribes the first gold agnel to Blanche of Castile, as regent of France during the minority of Louis IX. Patin ("History of Coins," p. 38) repeats that they were struck by Blanche as regent, but says nothing more. As Blanche was regent a second time (during the sixth crusade, 1248-52), these coins were probably struck in 1250 to defray the expenses of that war. Louis' Ransom of 100,000 marks was probably paid in silver. "There were sent to Louis in talents, in sterlings, and in approved money of Cologne (not the base coins of Paris or Tours), eleven waggons of money, each loaded with two iron-hooped barrels" (M. Paris, sub anno 1250, vol. ii, pp. 342, 378, 380). Humphreys (p. 532) ascribes these agnels to Philip le Hardi, 1270-85; but there is no reason to doubt the earlier and more explicit authority of Malestroict, Le Blanc, and Patin, nor the more recent judgment of Lenormant ("Monnaies et Médailles," p. 228) and Hoffman ("Monnaies Royale").

<sup>3</sup> This pope wrote a treatise on the transmutation of metals, the prolific exemplar of many similar works.

<sup>4</sup> The eight-mark piece and its fractions, of King Hans (John), A.D. 1481-1512, are in the Christiania Collection. The type of these coins is

That Christian Europe abstained from coining gold for five centuries because such coinage was a prerogative of the Basileus, is an explanation that may not be acceptable to the old school of historians ; but this is not a sufficient reason for its rejection. The old school would have been very greedy of knowledge if they had not left something for the new school to discover.

In his "Science des Médailles" (i, 208–11), Father Joubert, and after him other numismatists, observing the strange abstention of the Christian princes from coining gold, and perhaps anxious to supply a reason for it which would have the effect to discourage any further examination of so suggestive a topic, invented or promulgated the ingenious doctrine that the Roman emperors from the time of Augustus were invested, *in like manner*, with the power to coin both gold and silver. If this doctrine enjoyed the advantage of being sound, it would deprive the long abstention from gold coinage by the Western princes of much of its significance ; because, assuming that the coinage of gold and silver stood upon the same footing, and remembering that all the Christian princes coined silver, their omission to coin gold might, with some reason, be attributed to indifference. But that Father Joubert's doctrine is not sound is easily proved.

I. With the accession of Julius Cæsar was enacted a new and memorable change in the monetary system of Rome. The gold aureus was made the sole unlimited universal legal-tender coin of the empire ; the silver and copper coins were limited and localised in legal tender ; the ratio of gold to silver in the coinage was suddenly—and in the face of greatly increased supplies of gold bullion—raised from 9 silver to 12 silver for 1 gold ; and the mining and commerce of gold were seized, controlled, and strictly monopolised by the sovereign—  
evidently copied from the nobles of Edward III, minted from 1351 to 1360.



pontiff; whereas the mining of silver was thrown open to subsidiary princes and certain privileged individuals.<sup>1</sup> With the production of gold thus limited to pontifical control, and that of silver thrown open to numerous persons, the coinage of the two metals in like manner, or under like conditions, was totally impracticable and historically untrue.<sup>2</sup>

II. As will presently be shown more at length, the imperial treasury—which was kept distinct from the public treasury, and known by another name—was organised as a sacred institution; its chief officer, then or later on, was invested with a sacred title; the coinage of gold, which was placed under its management, was exercised as a sacred prerogative; and the coins themselves were stamped with sacred emblems and legends.<sup>3</sup> On the contrary, the coinage of silver was a secular prerogative; it belonged to the emperor as a secular monarch, and as such it was thrown open to the subsidiary princes, nobles, and cities of the empire, while that of copper-bronze was resigned to the Senate. These are not like conditions of coinage, but, on the contrary, very unlike ones.

III. From the accession of Julius to the fall of Constantinople, the ratio of value between gold and silver within the Roman empire, whether pagan or Christian, was always 1 to 12; whereas, during the same interval, it was 1 to 6½ in India, as well as in the Arabian empire, in Asia, Africa, and Spain; and it was 1 to 8 in Freisland, Scandinavia, and the Baltic provinces. It is inconceivable that one single unvarying ratio of 1 to 12 should have been maintained for centuries by the innumerable and irreconcilable feudal provinces of the Roman empire, if

<sup>1</sup> The exportation of gold had been previously controlled by the Senate. Cæsar made it a prerogative of the sovereign-pontiff.

<sup>2</sup> See "History Money," chapter xxv, for further consideration of this subject.

<sup>3</sup> The officers of the sacred fisc, who were stationed in the provinces to superintend the collection of gold for the sacred mint at Constantinople, are mentioned in the *Notitia Imperii*.

the freedom to coin silver, exercised by the feudal princes, was in like manner extended to gold.

IV. The authority of ancient writers is conclusive on this subject. Cicero, Pliny, Procopius, and Zonaras, though they lived in distant ages, all concur in representing that the coinage of the two precious metals was not conducted in like manner nor under like conditions.

V. The authority of modern writers, for example, Letronne, Mommsen, and Lenormant, is to the same effect. This absolutely closes the subject, and completely disposes of Father Joubert.

The sacerdotal character conferred upon gold, or the coinage of gold, was not a novelty of the Julian constitution; rather was it an ancient myth put to new political use. Concerning the testimony of witnesses, the very ancient Hindu Code says: "By speaking falsely in a cause concerning gold, he kills the born and the unborn"—an extreme anathema. Stealing sacred gold is classed with the highest of crimes.<sup>1</sup> A similar solicitude and veneration for gold occurs elsewhere throughout these laws. The Budhists made it unlawful to mine for, or even to handle gold, probably because the Bramins had used it as an engine of tyranny. According to Mr. Ball, this superstition is still observed in some remote parts of India. It is possible that, in some instances, the sacerdotal character attached to gold by the Bramins belonged only to such of it as had been paid to the priests, or consecrated to the temples, and that when the priests paid it away it was no longer sacred; but the texts will not always bear this reading. For example: "He who steals a suvarna" (suvarna, a gold coin) "dies on a dung-hill, is turned to a serpent, and rots in hell until the dissolution of the universe" (*vide* Braminical inscription found on copperplate dug up at Raiwan, in Delhi).<sup>2</sup> The same superstition occurs among the ancient Egyp-

<sup>1</sup> Halhed's "Gentoo Code," viii, 99; ix, 237.

<sup>2</sup> "Jour. Asiat. Soc. Bengal," lvi, 118.

tians, Persians, and Jews. There are frequent allusions to it in the pages of Herodotus. For example, Targitaus, the first king of Scythia, a thousand years before Darius, the sacred king of Persia (this would make it about B.C. 1500), was the divine son of Jupiter and a daughter of the river Borysthenes, or Dneister. In the kingdom of Targitaus gold was found in abundance, but being deemed sacred, it was reserved for the use of the sacred king. In another place Herodotus relates that in the reign of Darius, B.C. 521 (of whom Lenormant says, in his great work on the "Moneys of Antiquity," that he reserved the coinage of gold to himself absolutely), Aryandes, his viceroy in Egypt, struck a silver coin to resemble the gold darics of the king. Possibly, to make the resemblance greater, it was also gilded. For this offence Aryandes was condemned as a traitor and executed.<sup>1</sup> Josephus makes many allusions to the sacredness of gold. A similar belief is to be noticed among the ancient Greeks, whose coinages, except during the republican era, were conducted in the temples and under the supervision of priests. Upon these issues were stamped the symbolism and religion of the State, and as only the priesthood could correctly illustrate these mysteries of their own creation, the coinage—at least that of the more precious pieces—naturally became a prerogative of their order. Rawlinson notices that the Parthian kings, even after they threw off the Syro-Macedonian yoke, never ventured to strike gold coins.<sup>2</sup> The reason probably was that in place of the Syro-Macedonian yoke they had accepted the Roman, and that the Roman (imperial) law forbade the coinage of gold to subject-princes.

Whatever credit or significance be accorded or denied to these ancient glimpses of the myth, its significance becomes clearer when it is viewed through the accounts of the Roman historians. The Sacred Myth of Gold

<sup>1</sup> Mel., 7, 166; Lenormant, i, 173.

<sup>2</sup> Geo. Rawlinson, "Seventh Monarchy," p. 70.

appears in Rome at the period when the history of the Gaulish invasion of A.U. 369 was written. The story runs that after the eternal city had been saved from the barbarians, it was held by the Roman leaders that to the gold which had been taken from the mass belonging to the temples should be added the gold contributed by the women towards making up the ransom, or indemnity, of a thousand pounds weight, and that all of it should thenceforth be regarded as sacred. Says Livy: "The gold which had been rescued from payment to the Gauls, as also what had been, during the hurry of the alarm, carried from the other temples into the recess of Jupiter's temple, was altogether judged to be sacred, and ordered to be deposited together under the throne of Jupiter."<sup>1</sup>

At this period, according to Pliny, the Roman money was entirely of bronze. If this is true, all offerings of money to the temples must have been in bronze coins. If the object of conferring a sacerdotal character upon gold was merely to preserve the ecclesiastical treasure from violation, it is inexplicable that the same sacred character was not also conferred upon the current bronze money. It is far more consistent with the grossly superstitious character of the age to believe that the Romans (of the period when this legend was penned) were taught to regard all gold, except such as was worn upon the person, as sacred; and that the object of pronouncing the gold in the jewels contributed by the Roman women to be sacred, was to prevent its ever being again worn as jewellery. This gold had saved Rome, for although it is said it was not actually paid to the Gauls, the delay attending the weighing of it had given time for Camillus to advance to the rescue of the beleaguered citadel and drive the barbarians away. There was no less reason for rendering sacred the gold in the jewels, whose weighing had saved the city, than the geese whose cackling

<sup>1</sup> Livy, v. 50.



had contributed to the same happy event. However, it is possible that, as yet, a sacred character was only attached to such gold as had been consecrated to the gods.

The social, servile, and civil wars of Rome were characterised by great disorders of the currency, and during the latter, that is to say, in B.C. 91, Livius Drusus, a tribune of the people, authorised the coinage of silver denarii, alloyed with "one-eighth part of copper," which was a lowering of the long-established standard. As the civil wars continued, a portion of the silver coinage was still further debased, and the denarius, whose legal value had long been 16 aces, was lowered to 10 aces. Later on we hear of the issue of copper denarii plated to resemble those of silver. It is possibly to these debased or plated coins that Sallust alludes when he says that by a law of Valerius Flaccus, the Interrex, under Sylla (B.C. 86), "*argentum ære solutum est*," *i. e.* silver is now paid with bronze. Valleius Paterculus explained the operation of this law differently, in saying that it obliged all creditors to accept in full payment only a fourth part of what was due them. These explanations afford a proof that at this period the gold coins were not sole legal tenders. The discontent produced among commercial classes by this law of Valerius Flaccus, induced the College of Prætors (B.C. 84) to restore the silver money to its ancient standard by instituting what we would now call a trial of the *pix*. Sylla, enraged at this interference with the coinage and the political designs connected with it, annulled the decree of the prætors, proscribed their leader, Marius Gratidianus, as a traitor, and handed him over to Catiline, by whom he was executed.<sup>1</sup>

Sylla's *lex nummaria* (B.C. 83), which prescribed the punishment of fire and water, or the mines, to the

<sup>1</sup> Modern writers on money have expended a good deal of false sentiment on Gratidianus. Cicero, who was his relative and possibly knew him better, proves him a liar, cheat, demagogue, and traitor (*Off.*, iii, 20).

forgers of gold and silver coins, implies that at this period the immunity which perhaps previously, and certainly afterwards, attended gold coins, was not yet secured. About B.C. 82, Q. Antonius Balbus, an urban prætor, was authorised by the Senate, then controlled by the partisans of Marius, to collect the sacred treasure from the temples and turn it into coins. This money was employed in the struggle with Sylla. It is to this period, doubtless, that Cicero afterwards referred when he said: "At that time the currency was in such a fluctuating state, that no man knew what he was worth."<sup>1</sup> After Sylla's triumph over Marius, and his resignation of the dictatorship (B.C. 79), the ancient standard of the silver coinage was restored; and the opulent citizens, in order to express their approbation of this measure, erected full-length statues of the unfortunate Marius Gratidianus in various parts of Rome. About B.C. 69, Cicero alluded to the public treasury as the "*sanctius ærarium*." This expression, in connection with the coins struck by Antonius Balbus, from consecrated treasure and the statues erected to Marius Gratidianus, all point to this period as that of the adoption of the sacredness of gold in the Roman law.

About this time the Jews appear to have again acquired some share in that lucrative trade with India which they had formerly shared with the Greeks, and which has ever been a source of contention and hatred among the states of the Levant. The principal channel of this trade was now by the Nile and the Red Sea, and was in the hands of the Ptolemaic rulers of Egypt. A portion of it, however, went overland by Palmyra; and from this portion Jerusalem derived important commercial advantages. Such as they were, these advantages were lost to the Jews and acquired by Rome, when, in B.C. 63, Pompey and Scaurus snatched Judea from the contentious Maccabees, and established over it a Roman govern-

<sup>1</sup> Off., iii, 30.

ment.<sup>1</sup> In B.C. 59 Cicero said: "The Senate, on several different occasions, but more strictly during my consulship, prohibited the exportation of gold." *Exportare aurum non oportere cum sæpe antea Senatus tum me consule gravissime judicavit.*<sup>2</sup> Cicero was consul four years previously, that is to say, in B.C. 63. "Exportation" here seems to mean transmission from one province of the Roman empire to another, because elsewhere, in the same pleading, Cicero says: "Flaccus" (a proconsul of Syria) "by a public edict, prohibited its exportation" (that of gold) "from Asia." The introduction of the word "Italy" in Cicero's plea for Flaccus, can only be regarded as a means of enlisting the prejudice of the judges. Here is the passage in full: "Since our gold has been annually carried out of Italy and all the Roman provinces by the Jews, to Jerusalem, Flaccus, by a public edict, prohibited its exportation from Asia." The Jews probably bought gold (with silver) in the provinces between Judea and India, because it was cheaper in those places than in Europe. They may have bought silver in Greece or Italy, but unless their commercial pre-eminence is a trait of altogether modern growth, it is hard to believe that they bought gold in Italy, when it could have been obtained nearer by, at two-thirds the price. The penalty which this unlucky people have paid for their ill-starred attempts to share in the Greek and Roman profits of the oriental trade has been more than two thousand years of injustice, opprobrium, and ostracism.

The conquest of Egypt by Julius Cæsar (B.C. 48) threw the whole of the oriental trade into the hands of Rome. Canals connecting the Mediterranean and Red Seas had

<sup>1</sup> The Maccabees struck the earliest Jewish coins. These were called *sicals* or *shekels*, the same name given to coins by the ancient Hindus, with whom *sicca* meant a mint, or "minted," or "cut." The Arabians of a later period also borrowed the same term.

<sup>2</sup> "Orat. pro L. Flacco," c. 28.

been constructed successively by Necho,<sup>1</sup> Darius, and Ptolemy; and shortly after the Julian conquest, one of these canals was used for the voyages of the Indian fleet.<sup>2</sup> A century or so later Pliny recorded the fact that a hundred million sesterces worth of silver (equal in value to one million gold aurei) was annually exported to India and China.<sup>3</sup> The numerical proportions of the gold and silver ratios in Europe and India indicate that this trade was not a new one, and that a similar trade had been conducted by the Ptolemies and by the Babylonians and Assyrians upward to a remote era of the commercial intercourse between the Eastern and Western worlds.<sup>4</sup> During the Ptolemaic period the ratio was 10 for 1 in Europe, and  $12\frac{1}{2}$  for 1 in Egypt, whilst it was 6 to  $6\frac{1}{4}$  for 1 in the Orient. In other words, a ton weight of gold could be bought in India for about  $6\frac{1}{4}$  tons of silver, and coined, in Egypt, into gold pieces worth  $12\frac{1}{2}$  tons of silver.<sup>5</sup> The profit was therefore cent. per cent., and even after the Romans conquered Egypt, the rate of profit on exchanges of Western silver for Eastern gold

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, Clio, 202; Eut., 158; Mel., 39.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo. At a later period the inter-oceanic canal became clogged with drifting sand, and was reopened by Trajan or Hadrian, probably the latter. It was kept open by the Byzantine emperors. See Marcianus in Morisotus, "Orbis Martimus," and Anderson's "History Commerce." It was again reopened by Amrou in A.D. 639, during the reign of the caliph Omar. The Ptolemaic (and Roman) route was by Alexandria, the Nile, the Canal, Berenice, Sabia, and Muscat. It is fully described in the "Periplus maris erythræi" of Arrian.

<sup>3</sup> Minimaque computatione millies contena millia sestertium annis omnibus India et Seres peninsulaque illa imperio nostro adimunt. Tanto nobis deliciæ et feminæ constant ("Nat. History," xii, 18). In another place (vi, 23) he puts it at half this sum, "Quingenties H. S." for India alone. The "feminine luxuries" imported in exchange included gold, silk, and spices. Numbers of the silver coins exported to India at this period have been found during the present century buried in Buddhist topes.

<sup>4</sup> "Hist. Money, Ancient," p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> Lenormant, i, 146-51.



was quite or nearly as great. This explains what seems so abstruse a puzzle to the industrious but uncommercial Pliny: he could not understand why his countrymen "always demanded silver and not gold from conquered races."<sup>1</sup> One reason was that the Roman government knew where to sell this silver at an usurer's profit. When this profit ceased, as it did when the oriental trade was abandoned, the Roman government entirely altered its policy. During the middle ages it preferred to collect its tributes in gold coins.

When the enormous difference in the legal value of the precious metals in the Occident and Orient is considered, and that, too, at a period when maritime trade between these regions was not uncommon, it is impossible to resist the conviction that the superior value of gold in the West was created by means of legal and, perhaps, also sacerdotal ordinances. This method of fixing the ratio may even have originated in the Orient.

Colebrook<sup>2</sup> states that the ancient Hindus struck gold coins, which were multiples of the christnala, the latter containing about  $2\frac{1}{4}$  English grains fine. According to

<sup>1</sup> *Equidem miror P. R. victis gentibus argentum semper imperitasse non aurum* ("Nat. Hist." xxxiii, 15).

<sup>2</sup> "Asiat. Researches," London, 1799, v, 91. Meninsky, in his "Thesaurus Ling. Orient.," p. 1897, voc. "Chœsrewani," says that, in the time of Chosrœs (A.D. 531-79), the Persians worshipped the dirhems of that monarch. If we read "venerated" for "worshipped," and "dinars" for "dirhems," we shall probably get nearer to the truth. Chosrœs the deified was so successful in his wars against Justinian, that the latter was obliged to pay him an annual tribute of forty thousand pieces of gold (sacred besants). These were most likely the pieces that, upon being recoined in Persia, were venerated by its subservient populace. Von Strahlenberg (p. 330) says that, in the reign of Charlemagne, the Iestiaks or Oes-tiaks, near Samarow, venerated a cufic coin of the Arabians, from whom they had captured it. In a tomb near the river Irtisch, between the salt lake Iamischewa and the city Om-Iestroch, a flat oval gold coin that had evidently been used as an object of worship, was found and delivered to Prince Gagarin, the governor of Siberia (about A.D. 1715).

Queipo,<sup>1</sup> five christnalas equalled a masha of  $11\frac{1}{4}$  grains and 80 chrisnalas a tola, or suvarna, of 180 grains. This system appears to have originated at two different periods, the octonary relations belonging to the remote period of the Solar worship, and the quinquennial to the Braminical period. Dished gold coins (scylates) of the type afterwards imitated in the besant, called "ramtenkis," and regarded as sacred money, were struck in India at a very remote period. The usual weights were about 180, 360, and 720 English grains (1, 2, and 4 tolas). One example weighed 1,485 grains, and was probably intended for 8 tolas sicca. The gold being alloyed with silver gave a pale appearance to the pieces. The extant coins contain no legible dates or inscriptions, and are much worn by repeated kissing. The emblems upon them are the sacred ones of Rama, Sita, and Hunuman. They were evidently held in high veneration by the Bramins. Facsimiles of these coins have been published in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal."<sup>2</sup> In the Braminical coinages the value of silver seems to have been lowered from 4 (to 5) for 1 gold; and though in later coinages the value of silver was again lowered, as before stated, to about  $6\frac{1}{4}$  for 1 gold, the general tendency in the Orient was to maintain the value of silver, and in the Occident to raise that of gold. So that, although the system of deriving a profit from the device of altering the ratio was probably of oriental origin, the practical operation of this system—certainly at the periods embraced within the Greek and Roman histories—was precisely opposite in the Western world to what it was in the Eastern. The governments of Persia, Assyria, Egypt, Greece, and Rome made a profit on the coinage by raising the value of gold, while those of India, China, and perhaps also Japan, made their profit by maintaining, or enhancing, the value of silver. In the

<sup>1</sup> Queipo, i, 449-52.

<sup>2</sup> "Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal," liii, 207-11.

last-named State silver was valued at 8 (some say at 4) to 1 of gold, at one of which ratios it stood so late as 1858.

It is evident that, by continuing the use of this myth, or by attaching a sacerdotal character to the coinage and coins of gold, which in Italy may hitherto have only been attached to consecrated deposits of gold—a character which the conqueror, who was also the *pontifex maximus* of Rome, was quite competent to confer upon it—he would not only acquire the means to republish upon its coins the mythology and religious symbols of the empire, altered to accord with his own impious pretensions of divine origin, but he would also be enabled to reap profits equal to those which the Ptolemies had derived from the oriental trade. Indeed, in this respect Cæsar made another innovation: he increased the Roman ratio from 9 to 12 for 1, and there it remained fixed, in consequence of his ordinance, for thirteen centuries.

That Cæsar attached a sacerdotal character to the gold coins of Rome, and that Augustus and his successors, both the pagan and Christian sovereign-pontiffs of the empire, continued and maintained this sacred character is so abundantly evidenced that it has never been disputed. It is only in assigning reasons for the measure that numismatists have differed. Evelyn believed that the gold coins were rendered sacred to preserve them from profanation and secure them from abuse.<sup>1</sup> Others have found the origin of this regulation in the desire to preserve the most precious monuments of Roman antiquity from the melting-pot, and they point to the numerous coinage restorations of Trajan as a proof of the Roman anxiety on this subject. The reasons herein suggested as the true ones are, first, the usefulness of coins to proclaim monarchical and pontifical accessions, and to disseminate religious instruction; and, second, the profits of the oriental trade, which could only be secured by means of an ordinance enjoying the

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn, "Medals," 224-7.

sanctity of religious authority. These reasons even receive confirmation from the contrary regulations adopted by the Arabians. Whether in scorn of the Roman mythology, or else to enhance the value of the immense silver spoil which they had derived from the conquest of the Roman provinces in Asia, Africa, and Spain, or because they were unable or unwilling to continue that pretence of sacredness, partly by means of which so artificially high a valuation of gold had been created in Europe, it appears that when the Arabians came to permanently regulate the affairs of the conquered provinces (reform of Abd-el-Melik) they swept away the mythological emblems upon the coins for all time, and for several centuries they destroyed the sacred character of gold. They issued plain coins of constant weight and fineness, and reduced the ratio to the Indian level (then) of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  for 1.

Whatever reasons induced Cæsar to enhance the value of gold, there can be no doubt of the fact. In the scrupulum coinages of A.U. 437 the ratio was 10 silver for 1 gold; in the coinage system of Sylla (A.U. 675) the ratio was 9 for 1. Cæsar raised the value of his gold coins by a single jump to 12 for 1; in other words, he gradually lowered the aureus from  $168\frac{1}{3}$  to 125 grains fine, and this alteration he sanctified and rendered permanent by stamping upon the coins the most sacred devices and solemn legends. If this great politician of antiquity endeared himself to the masses by thus lowering the measure of indebtedness, he secured for his empire the approval of the patrician and commercial classes by securing its stability, for the ratio which he adopted and solemnized was never changed until Rome dissolved into a mere name—a name by which ambitious princes long continued to conjure, but which really belonged to a dead and powerless empire.

In that admirable review of the Byzantine empire which forms the subject of Gibbon's seventeenth chapter, he declares that by law the imperial taxes during the dark ages



were payable in gold coins alone.<sup>1</sup> We now know the reason of this ordinance—the oriental trade was gone. The custom of the period was that when gold coins were not paid, silver coins were accepted instead, at the sacred weight ratio of 12. In the reign of Theodosius the officer entrusted with the gold coinage was the *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, or Count of the Sacred Trust, one of the twenty-seven *illustres*, or greatest nobles, of the empire. His powers supplanted those of the former *quæstori præfecti ærarii* and other high officers of the treasury. His jurisdiction extended over the mines whence gold was extracted, over the mints in which it was converted into coins, over the revenues which, being payable in gold coins, kept the latter in use and demand, and over the treasuries, in which gold was deposited for the service of the sacred emperor or in exchange for silver. Even the woollen and linen manufactures and the foreign trade of the empire were originally placed under the control of this minister, with the view, no doubt, to regulate that exchange of Western silver for oriental gold, of which some remains existed at the period of these elaborate and subtle arrangements.

It is the peculiarity of sacerdotal ordinances that they long outlive the purpose intended to be subserved by their enactment. In the hot climates of India, Egypt, Palestine, and Arabia the interdiction of certain meats for food may possibly have been originally founded upon hygienic considerations—a fact that may have commended this ordinance to local acceptance, but certainly did not earn for it that general and continued observance which it owes to the Braminical, Jewish, and Mahomedan religions. It is not to be wondered that Justinian I rebuked Theodoret the Frank for striking heretical gold coins, nor that Justinian II proclaimed war against Abd-el-Melik for presuming to pay his tribute in other heretical gold; but it certainly seems strange to find this myth observed

<sup>1</sup> Same, in his Misc. works, iii, 460.

in distant ages and among distant nations—for example, to witness the pagan Danes of the mediæval ages solemnizing their oaths upon baugs of sacred gold; to find Henry III, of England, after plundering the Jews of London, receiving the gold into his own hands, but the silver by the hands of others; and to discover that Philip II, of Spain, attempted to re-enact in America this played-out myth of idolatrous India, Egypt, and Rome.<sup>1</sup>

The importance of this myth, in throwing light upon the political relations of the Roman provinces toward the Byzantine and Western or mediæval empires, does not depend either upon its antiquity or the reasons of its adoption into the Roman constitution, nor upon its general acceptance or popularity. It is sufficient for the purpose if it can be shown that, as a matter of fact, the sovereign-pontiff alone enjoyed the prerogative of coining gold throughout the Empire, and that the princes of the Empire respected this prerogative. It is submitted that concerning this cardinal fact the evidences herein adduced are sufficient.

<sup>1</sup> Procop., "Bel. Got.," iii, 33; Lenormant ii, 453, 454; Du Chaillu, "Viking Age"; Matthew Paris, i, 459; "Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias," law of 1565.

## CHAPTER VII.

### POUNDS, SHILLINGS, AND PENCE.

This system appears in the Theodosian Code—Is probably older—Its essential characteristic is valuation by moneys of account—Advantages—Previous diversity of coins—Danger of the loss of numismatic monuments—Exportation of silver to India—Difficulty of enforcing contracts in coins of a given metal—*£. s. d.* as an instrument of taxation—As an historical clue—It always followed Christianity—Sidelights to history afforded by the three denominations—*£. s. d.* and the Feudal system—It saved the most precious monuments of antiquity from destruction—Artificial character of the system—Its earliest establishment in the provinces—In Britain—Interrupted in some provinces by barbarian systems—Its restoration proves the resumption of Roman government—This rule applied to Britain.

**S**EARCHING for the beginning of a custom is like tracing a river back to its source: we soon discover that it has not one source but many. When brevity is preferable to precision, it is sufficient if we follow an institution to its principal or practical source.

We have elsewhere shown the marks of chronological stratification in Roman history—originally decimal and afterwards duodecimal—which resulted from a change that, it is assumed, took place in the method of measuring the solar circle. This, we are persuaded, was originally divided into ten parts, each of 36 degrees; hence the archaic Roman or Etruscan year of ten months, each of 36 days, and the week or *nundinum* of nine days. At a later period the zodiac was divided into twelve parts, each of 30 degrees, whence the year of twelve months, each of 30 days.<sup>1</sup> In these two systems we have the basis of

<sup>1</sup> By some writers the year of 360 days has been erroneously called a lunar year, but in fact a year contains nearly thirteen lunar months. The

the decimal and duodecimal methods of notation, which are so strangely intermingled in all Roman numbers and proportions, and which also appear in *£. s. d.* Thus, the number of solidi to the libra was five, and the number of sicilici to the libra twenty, both of which are decimal proportions.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the number of denarii to the sicilicus was twelve, and the ratio between the metals was twelve, which is duodecimal.<sup>2</sup>

Those writers whose researches into monetary systems are bounded by the narrow conclusions of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" or Tooke's "History of Prices," usually attribute the origin of *£. s. d.* to William the Norman or to Charlemagne, and their explanation of the system is commonly confined to that of the *£.*, which they regard as the symbol for a pound weight of silver, year of twelve months was originally solar, and was always astrological. Many of the early institutes mentioned by Livy, Pliny, and Censorinus were evidently taken from the laws of conquered and obliterated Etruria, and falsely attributed to Romulus, Numa, and other creations of Roman fancy. Among these institutes was the change from ten months of 36 days to twelve months of 30 days to the year (Livy, i, 19).

<sup>1</sup> The "pound" of money is to be discerned during the decay of Attic liberty. The Romans used the term "pondus" to mean 100 drachmas, and the Greeks used the "talenton" of money before them. Twenty drachmas (silver) equalled in value one stater, and five staters were valued at a talenton, which the Romans called a pondus. The Greek ratio was 10. Most of the confusion on this subject has resulted from the refusal of numismatic writers to recognise—what their own monetary systems of to-day attest—that every name of a weight also meant at the same time a sum of money, which had no relation to such weight. Humphreys, Chambers, and Putnam all furnish confused references to the pondus of 100 drachmas. The Persians in the time of Cyrus appear to have had a system of *£. s. d.* very like what the Romans afterwards had.

<sup>2</sup> A remarkable custom, which, it may reasonably be conjectured, originated in the changed subdivision of the zodiac, prevailed among the Goths. With them ten meant twelve, and an hundred was six score. The custom still prevails in Essex, Norfolk, and Scotland (Sir Francis Palgrave, i, 97). Some vestige of the score system still lingers in the French names for numbers. Curiously enough, too, the method of counting by scores was employed by the Aztecs (Prescott, p. 35).



or else a pound weight of silver coins. The different books in which this delusion is repeated are probably sufficiently numerous to stock a good-sized library; yet it can be demolished in a few words. Neither the contents of the Norman or Carlovingian nor of any other coins sustain this theory, neither is it sustained by the texts of the Carlovingian or any other period. The libra of money (not the whole triad of £. s. d.) is at least five hundred and may be fifteen hundred years older than Charlemagne, being clearly defined in the Theodosian Code (lib. xiii, tit. ii, 11), of which the following is the text and literal translation:—"Ita ut pro singulis libris argenti quinos solidos inferat"—"So that for each libra of money five solidi are to be understood."<sup>1</sup> This portion of the code is attributed by some commentators to the constitutions of Constantine, by others to a law of Honorius and Arcadius (A.D. 397);<sup>2</sup> but, as shown elsewhere, the libra of five gold pieces is older than either. It was used for five gold aurei by Caligula, Probus, and Diocletian. It frequently occurs in the texts of Valens,<sup>3</sup> Arcadius, and

<sup>1</sup> It is from this passage in the Theodosian Code that the learned Boeckh, Rome d'Isle, and Bodin regarded the libra as a weight, and deduced the supposed ratio between silver and gold of 14·4 to 1. It is needless to say that if the libra was a money of account and not a weight, the deduction is erroneous. There is no instance of such a ratio as 14·4, or thereabouts, in Roman or Greek history—a fact which by itself should have rendered these erudite persons more cautious. The Code of Justinian (liber x, tit. lxxvi, de argenti pretio) also gives the ratio, "pro libra argenti, 5 solidi."

<sup>2</sup> Queipo, ii, 56.

<sup>3</sup> The cupidity of the Duke of Moesia induced him to withhold provisions from the Gothic refugees, whom Valens, the sovereign-pontiff, had permitted to enter that province, so that a slave (*mancipium*) was given by the Goths for a loaf of bread (*unum panem*) and ten libras (of money) for a carcass of meat (*aut decem libras in unum carnem mercarentur*). It is evident that ten libras meant precisely what the law declared it should mean, namely, 50 solidi (equal to the contents of about 32 English sovereigns), for ten pounds weight of gold would contain as much as 464 English sovereigns. Gibbon avoids the difficulty by saying, "the word *silver* must be understood;" but such was not the custom of that

other sovereign-pontiffs of the fourth to the eighth century, where, except in one instance, it always means five solidi. According to Father Mariana ("De Pondéris et Mensures"), the siciliens—known in a subsequent age as the gold shilling—was struck as early as the first century of our era, for he states that in his own collection were gold pieces of this weight, struck by Faustina, Augusta, Vespasian, and Nero. Others of Justinian, weighing 16 grains, are now in the Madrid collection. The denarius of the early empire, of which 25 in value went to the aureus, tallied in weight, though not in fineness, with the half-aureus. In the reign of Caracalla 24 denarii went to the aureus, the ratio of value between the metals remaining unchanged. Such is briefly the genesis of £. s. d.

The translation of "argentum" into "money" needs no explanation to Continental readers, for in all the Continental languages—French, Spanish, Italian, etc.—"silver" means "money." This custom is derived from the Romans of the Empire, with whom "argentum" meant money, as the following examples sufficiently prove:—*Argentariæ tabernæ*, bankers' shops (Livy); *argentaria inopia*, want of money (Plautus); *argentarius*, treasurer (Plautus); *argentei sc. nummi*, or money (Pliny, xvi, 3); *ubi argenti venas aurique sequuntur* (Lucretius, vi, 808); *cum argentum esset expositum in ædibus* (Cicero); *emunxi argento senes* (Terrence); *concisum argentum in titulos faciesque minutas* (Juvenal, xiv, 291); *tenue argentum venæque secundæ* (*ibid.*, ix, 31). The Romans in turn got this term from the ancient Greeks, whose literature they studied and whose customs they affected. One of the Greek names for money was "argyrion," from *argyros*, silver. The Hebrew word for money was *caseph*, literally silver, alluding to

time, any more that it is now. When silver was understood it meant *money* and not metal. Said the law: "So that for each libra (libris argenti) five solidi (of gold) are to be understood" (Jornandes, "De Getarum," c. xxvi; Gibbon, ii, 597, 4to ed.).

the coined shekels of the Babylonians. The same custom, *i.e.*, using the term "silver" for money, is to be found in the most ancient writings of Egypt and India.

In a letter of Honorius and Theodosius II to the Prefect of Gaul, written in our year of 418, after suggesting the formation of a council to regulate the affairs of that province, the emperors proposed, in case its members failed to attend the meetings, to subject them to fines of three and five "libras of gold" each. It is evident that the "libras" here mentioned are moneys and not weights; for five Roman libras weight of gold are equal to the quantity contained in 232 English sovereigns of the present day, and this would have been a preposterously heavy mulct for mere non-attendance. On the other hand, a libra of account represented by five gold solidi, would not have contained more than one-fourteenth of this quantity of gold, and it is evident that this was intended.

These researches into the origin of £. s. d. were necessary in order to determine its essential characteristics as a system of valuations and proportions. The names of the subdivisions of money have in all ages been used to denote the relative proportions or subdivisions of other measures, as of weight, area, capacity, etc., and it is this practice which is responsible for much of that confusion on the subject of money that distinguishes economical literature. For example, £. s. d. were at one time used as proportions of the pound weight for weighing bread, at another time as proportions of the acre for measuring land. In the former case £. represented a pound weight of bread, s. an ounce, etc.; in the latter £. meant one and a-half acres and d. a rod of land.<sup>1</sup> Sir Francis Palgrave (i, 93) says that many instances of this practice are to be found in charters of the sixth century. The mischief of it lies in the insinuation it conveys that

<sup>1</sup> Statute 51, Henry III (1267); Fleetwood's "Chronicum Preciosum."

because a "pound" weight can be the unit, integer, or standard of weight, and a "pound" measure (one and a-half acres) can be the unit of superficial area, so a "pound" sum of money can be the unit of money, which in the last case is physically impossible. The unit of money can never be one "pound," but must necessarily be all the "pounds," under the same legal jurisdiction, joined together. In other words, the unit of money is and must necessarily be all money.<sup>1</sup>

Taking the essential character of *£. s. d.* to be a system of valuation by moneys of account, as distinguished from a system of valuation by coins, it must have possessed merits that rendered its adoption highly necessary and advantageous. We shall find that this was actually the case. Previous to the adoption of *£. s. d.* there was commonly but one denomination of money and—except in the peculiar monetary system of the Roman Commonwealth—it usually related to an actual coin. With the Romans this coin was successively the ace, denarius, sesterce, and aureus. Even when two of these kinds of coins circulated side by side—as the ace and the denarius, or the sesterce and aureus—sums of money were always couched in one denomination, never in both. We now say so many pounds and shillings and pence, perhaps combining some of each denomination in one sum; or we may say so many dollars and cents, or so many francs and centimes. Down to the era of *£. s. d.* the Romans, in expressing sums of money, only used one term. So long as only one or two or three kinds of coins were current at the same time, there was no inconvenience in this custom; but when coins came to be made of different sizes and weights and of several different metals—bronze, silver, and gold—some of them of limited tender and highly over-valued, like the bronze coins of to-day, one term for money became inexact and inconvenient. This is one of the reasons that led to the adoption of *£. s. d.*

<sup>1</sup> See chapter on this subject in the author's "Science of Money."



In the last quarter of the third century the Roman empire was divided between four Cæsars, to whom was afterwards added he whom Sir Francis Palgrave has rather effusively termed "our own Carausius." Even before this division took place, the diversity of bronze and silver coins was so great as to produce confusion. With four emperors almost daily adopting new designs for coins, and several thousand unauthorised moneyers expelled from Mount Cælius and other places to ply their trade in every province of the Roman empire, the confusion became intolerable. Without some device by aid of which this maddening variety of types and weights could be readily harmonised and valued, it became impossible to carry on the operations of trade. Such a device was £. s. d.

The infinite diversity and number of local and imperial silver coins had long since broken down that fragment of the fiduciary system of money which was attempted to be revived by Augustus; it had effaced all the influence of mine-royalties; it had nullified all the effects of mint-charges and seigniorage. The relative value of coins, which Rome was formerly content to read in the edicts of her consuls or emperors, she was now almost compelled to determine with a pair of scales. The imperial government could scarcely have observed this symptom of popular distrust without grave concern. In proportion as such coins lost fiduciary value, and rested upon that of their metallic contents, so did the empire lose importance to the provinces and the proconsuls to the local chieftains. Furthermore, when money ceased to derive any portion of its value from limitation of issue or from sacerdotal and imperial authority, why might not the proconsuls feel at liberty to issue circulating money as well as the sovereign-pontiff? why not the under-lords as well as the proconsuls? why not foreigners as well as citizens?—why not anybody or everybody?

Besides this, it is to be remembered that the coins of Rome were designed to illustrate its mythology and history, and that they constituted its most precious and enduring monuments. Upon them were stamped the story of its miraculous origin, the images of its gods, demi-gods and heroes, the symbols of its religion, the spirit of its laws, and the dates of its most glorious achievements. All these now threatened to disappear in the melting-pot. The monuments had come to be regarded only as so much bullion, and every provincial governor or barbarian king would be tempted to reduce them to metal, in order that, upon recoinage, his own upstart image might shine in the glass that had once reflected a Romulus, a Cæsar, or an Augustus. There was but one way to stop such a calamity, and that way was monopoly of the coinage and arbitrary valuation; but this had to be done through some new device, for the old ones were worn out, and would be seen through and rejected at once.<sup>1</sup> The efforts to save the old monuments would justify a slight discrimination of value at the onset in favour of certain precious issues, and this discrimination might be extended and enlarged as time went on. Rome had hitherto kept its most sacred numismatic monuments from the furnace by means of a golden myth, a fixed ratio, and the restriction of exports. Without disturbing either of these arrangements, it was now proposed to supplement them with the device of *£. s. d.*

The diversity of coins, and the hope of restoring some of their lost fiduciary value, furnished reasons for the adoption of a triad of monetary terms, in the place of that single term in which the Romans had hitherto couched their valuations and contracts; but the same

<sup>1</sup> In a less superstitious age perhaps not even the device of *£. s. d.* would have allayed the fear that the valuations would be changed, or have kept the coins from the melting-pot. But to the Romans that law was a sacred one, which forbade the melting down of old coins (*Digest i, c. de Auri pub. prosecut.*; lib. xii, 13; Camden, "*Brit.*," p. 105).

considerations do not explain why these denominations were essentially ideal ones, nor why they remain so still. The explanation is simple enough. It will be found in the physical impossibility of adding together quantities of various materials and producing a quotient of one material. If £. means a piece of gold, *s.* a piece of silver, and *d.* a piece of bronze, then as a matter of fact it is impossible to add them together and produce a sum which shall represent a quantity of any one of these metals. Hence these denominations are essentially ideal. However, as logic seldom stands in the way of practical legislation, we may be sure that it was not this difficulty which compelled the Romans, when they adopted £. *s. d.*, to make them ideal moneys, or moneys of account, that would logically add together; it was the practical difficulty of enforcing contracts payable in coins of a particular metal. Numbers of the mine-slaves had revolted, or escaped, to swell the armies of the Goths and other malcontents; the produce of the Roman mines had become irregular; the oriental trade had absorbed vast quantities of silver.<sup>1</sup> A contract to pay sesterces meant so many silver coins, and the name sesterce had been so long wedded to a silver coin that it was found easier to establish a new denomination than divorce sesterce from silver. The same may be said of the gold aureus. £. *s. d.* being imaginary moneys, might be represented by either gold, silver, or bronze coins at pleasure of the government, and as best suited the convenience of the times or the equity of payments.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, "Natural History," vi, 23, and xii, 18.

<sup>2</sup> In 1604 the Chief Justices of England decided that £. *s. d.* were imaginary moneys, and meant concretely whatever coins the sovereign from time to time might decree they should mean. They deduced this conclusion, not only from the spirit of the common, but also from the principles of the civil law; and there can be no doubt that such was its legal significance at the period of its original adoption in Rome (State-Trials, ii, 114; Digest, xviii, 11).

It is scarcely necessary to turn from the public to the private influences which urged the adoption of *£. s. d.* upon the imperial and pontifical mind. A monetary system which by insensible degrees might be made to slip away from all metallic anchorage or limitation, needed no further recommendation to a needy treasury. Yet it still had another one. The diversity of races that constituted the population of the Empire and a nascent feudal system both stood in the way of any uniform system of taxation, while the distance between Rome and the capital of each province greatly multiplied frauds upon the treasury, and threw too much power and profit in the hands of the provincial vicars or proconsuls and the greedy farmers of the revenues. The facility to regulate the value of various coins which the adoption of *£. s. d.* promised to afford, placed in the hands of the sovereign-pontiff the means of levying a tax that could neither be evaded nor intercepted.

Thus many reasons and interests combined to recommend the system of *£. s. d.* It brought into harmony the diversity of coins and coinages; it promised to restore some of the lost value of bronze and silver coins, and to conserve or obliterate (at pleasure) the ancient and sacred types; it offered to remedy the difficulties produced by the irregular supplies of the mines, and by the heavy exports of silver to India; it placed a future choice of other remedies in the hands of the emperor; and, finally, it was competent, at a pinch, to solve the problem of suddenly recouping an empty treasury. Under the system of *£. s. d.* any coin or piece of money could be legalised or decried at pleasure of the government, and any value could be put upon it that seemed expedient or desirable. All that was needed was a brief edict of the supreme sovereign, and at once, with military precision, this or that piece of money took its allotted station among the *£. s. d.*, and there it served in the capacity and with the rank assigned to it by its imperial master.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On different occasions the same coin has ranked as a penny three-



In the fourth century the *d.* was represented by a silver coin, and the *s.* by a gold coin containing about 18 (afterwards 16) grains of fine gold, and the *£* by five large solidi (afterwards called besants), each containing 72 (afterwards 64) grains of fine gold.

If we follow the adoption of *£. s. d.* in the various provinces of Europe—for example, Gaul, Britain, Spain, or Germany—it will be found that it never preceded, whilst it invariably followed, the establishment of Roman Christianity. It therefore furnishes a valuable guide to the date of such establishment, and to the restoration of Roman government. *£. s. d.* was adopted in Gaul by Clovis, in a part of England it was established by Ethelbert, whilst in other parts it was rejected by the unconverted Gothic kings, his contemporaries.<sup>1</sup> So the Arian Goths of Spain, down to the close of Roderic's reign,

half-pence, two-pence, and even three-pence. A shilling was at one time represented by a gold coin, at another by a silver coin. Examples of this character often occur in the ordinances of the mediæval kings of France; and there is reason to believe that the sovereign-pontiffs of Rome more than once altered the legal value of their silver and bronze issues.

<sup>1</sup> The name of the *sicilicus*, which is evidently derived either from the fourth of the aureus or else from the fifteen-grain gold pieces of Sicily, was applied to the Norse aurar in the laws of Ethelbert (Sections 33–35). From the context it is evident that fifty scats are less in value than three shillings, hence that the purely silver scat of five to the gold shilling was not yet in use, and that the scats alluded to were the old rude ones of composite metal, weighing  $7\frac{1}{2}$  grains and upwards, and of varying and uncertain metallic contents.

The shilling of Ethelbert's laws is the earliest mention of that coin in England. There was as yet no Norse analogue, either for the libra or the penny; in other words, there was no twelfth of the aurar nor any twenty-aurar piece, hence there was no further application of *£. s. d.* at that time to Gothic coins. The Roman "pounds, shillings, and pence" had yet to be fully established in England. Some of the gold *sicilici* of the heretical Roger II, of Sicily, bear the legend in Arabic: "One God; Mahomet is His prophet." On the other is the phallic sign. A specimen, somewhat worn, weighed by the writer, contained 15 grains gross. These shillings were evidently copied from older Sicilian coins of the same weight and type.

refused both the Roman religion and the Roman system of money, and the Saxons would have none of either until Charlemagne bent their stubborn necks to the yoke of the Roman gospel.

Another valuable historical sidelight is derived from *£. s. d.* The arithmetical relations of these moneys of account were originally, but have not been always,  $12 \times 20 = 240$ . Sometimes they were  $5 \times 48 = 240$ , or  $4 \times 60 = 240$ , or even (exceptionally)  $5 \times 60 = 300$ . Whenever this is observed it affords a sure indication of grafting. The Gothic ratio between the precious metals was 8, the Arabian ratio  $6\frac{1}{2}$ , and the Roman ratio 12. Consequently, when the Roman arithmetical relations of *£. s. d.* were grafted on Gothic or Arabian, or Gothic-Arabian, monetary systems they had to be modified to suit the local valuation of gold and silver.<sup>1</sup> For example, in the eighth century in Roman Christian Gaul (ratio of 12) it took 12 silver pence, each of 16 grains, to equal in legal value 1 gold *sicilius* of similar weight, whilst in the Gothic parts of Britain, where the Arabian ratio prevailed (ratio of  $6\frac{1}{2}$ ), 5 silver pence, each of 20 grains, sufficed; so that if, as convenience dictated, the newly-introduced *£.* was still to consist of 240 pence, it would have to be valued at 48 shillings of account, and this was accordingly done.<sup>2</sup> Modifications in the weights of the silver penny, and efforts to harmonise the two principal conflicting ratios—the Roman and Arabian—will explain, not only the remaining variations of *£. s. d.* above alluded to, but also many other obscure problems connected with the early monetary systems of England.

We have seen how *£. s. d.* arose out of the circumstances of a decaying empire; we shall now see how it accommodated itself to those circumstances, so as to

<sup>1</sup> The system of Offa, king of Mercia, was Gothic-Arabian, and, as is elsewhere shown, some of his coins had Arabian inscriptions upon them.

<sup>2</sup> System of Ethelbert, king of Kent, 725-60.

promote the very disease it was in part designed to remedy. The empire was falling to pieces, splitting into many parts. First, it had one Cæsar, then two, three, four, or more. Even when it got rid of its Thirty Tyrants, and reduced the number to six, the diversity of coins and coinages was too bewildering for practical purposes. To harmonise and regulate these coins, as well for other reasons, *£. s. d.* was adopted. Yet by accommodating itself to a diversity of moneys, this system prevented the evil from righting itself through the simple and efficacious means of re-coinage. Dispensing with the necessity of uniformity, it encouraged heterogeneity by rendering it less intolerable, and thus facilitated that splitting up and subdivision of the coining authority which characterised the matured feudal system, and lent it strength and support. Devised in part to unify moneys and centralise authority, it became no insignificant aid to decentralisation and feudalism. On the other hand, but for its influence the Roman coins, and with them the memories which they invoked and the sacred myths they perpetuated, would have been destroyed, and the modern world would have had to read the history of the past in the unmeaning baugs of Scandinavia, the saigas of Frakkland, or the composite scats of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy.

Returning to the historical clue afforded by the adoption of *£. s. d.*, the reader will scarcely fail to have been impressed with the extreme artificiality of this system. Hundreds of books have already been written upon it, and hundreds more will probably yet be written upon it before its true character, mischievous bearing, and incongruity with the modern age of progress will be recognised and acted upon. Allusion is here made, not merely to a system of three denominations, as *£. s. d.*, nor to a mingled bi-decimal and duodecimal notation, nor to its character as money of account, but to the mingling in this system of imperial with provincial and municipal or other coins; of seignioried with non-seignioried coins; of coins

with various degrees of legal tender ; of coins of local with others of extensive legal tender ; of native with foreign coins made legal tender ; of redeemable with non-redeemable coins ; of governmental with private (bank) issues of various degrees of legal tender ; and of non-interest-bearing with interest-bearing legal-tender issues. In these respects and others the principles of all the monetary systems of the present day originated in the Roman imperial system of *£. s. d.*, and so far as they follow it they interpose important obstacles to the practice of equity, the just diffusion of wealth, and the progress of civilisation.<sup>1</sup>

The *£. s. d.* system was as much unfitted for the Gothic kingdoms or fiefs of the dark ages as it was suitable for the Empire. In a former work it was shown that there existed a natural harmony, or tendency toward harmony, between systems of government and systems of money, just as there is between social phases and language. For example, if one of the sentences of Cicero or Tacitus were imputed to a savage orator, no matter how eloquent or renowned, the unfitness of the phraseology, and its lack of harmony with the social phase of the speaker, would at once expose the blunder or imposture. Similarly, if an *£. s. d.* system of money were attributed to a tribe of Zulus, the incongruity of the collocation would immediately stamp it as untrue. For not only are three denominations of money too artificial a means of valuation to fall within the mental compass of a barbarian tribe, one of them (the *£.*) was always an ideal money, and all of them were maintained, and could only be maintained, by a mint code of extreme complexity, and covering mining, minting, seigniorage, artificial ratio between the precious metals, and an hundred other subjects, concerning which neither Zulu nor Goth ever had a clear conception. For these various reasons the artificial system of *£. s. d.* furnishes an unerring clue to historical researches during the dark

<sup>1</sup> "Science of Money," chapter vi.



ages. In a previous chapter similar clues were found in the golden myth and the sacred ratio of twelve; in the present one we shall follow the clue of the three denominations.

The text of the Theodosian Code implies the use of *£. s. d.* at Rome and in all the Christian provinces of the Empire. The non-Christian provinces were those parts of Gaul and Britain which, at the time of the promulgation of this code, were temporarily under the control of Anglo-Saxon, Frankish, and other barbarian chieftains. The letter of Honorius and Theodosius II (A.D. 418) implies the use of *£. s. d.* at that date in southern and perhaps central Gaul. From 496 to 561, during the governments of the Roman patricians Clovis and Clothaire I, the *£. s. d.* system was probably established throughout the whole of Gaul, except Brittany, Burgundy, and Provence. The Roman coins found buried with the body of Childeric,<sup>1</sup> and more especially the Roman offices and titles accepted by the Merovingian Frankish princes down to the sixth century, when image-worship was insisted upon, or, still worse, when the assassin Phocas was worshipped at Rome, imply the continuance of Roman government in Gaul until that period. After this time, and until the reign of Pepin, many of the provinces forgot their allegiance.<sup>2</sup> Over and over again the Franks had professed and evinced their willingness to live under Roman law and Roman government, and they proved their sincerity and good faith in these professions by accepting Roman ecclesiastics as the administrators of that law and the representatives of that government. So long as Rome inculcated the worship of a heavenly deity the Franks continued loyal to the empire, but when the Roman pontiff fell at the feet of Phocas, and

<sup>1</sup> His tomb was opened in the seventeenth century (Morell, 67).

<sup>2</sup> The Merovingians struck gold under authority of the Basileus until the reign of Theodebert, who struck gold for himself. Yet even after this period many of the Merovingians coined under authority of the Basileus.

the detested religion of emperor-worship seemed about to be revived in the very fane of religion, they turned upon the Empire.<sup>1</sup> From Theodebert to Pepin the Short the Roman monetary system was interrupted in Gaul. Its place was partly filled with a Frankish system, in which the relative value of gold and silver, no longer kept in place by the sacred myth of Rome, fell back to the old Druidical (and Etruscan) ratio, or else obeyed, to a certain extent, the influence of the Moslem mint-laws of Spain and Southern Gaul, for it became 1 to 10 instead of 1 to 8. The gold sou, or solidus, was valued in Merovingian laws at 40 silver deniers, or denarii; the little sou, or sicilicus, was valued in the same laws at 10 silver deniers, the sicilicus and denier containing the same weight of metal. The first fact is from the texts of the period, the last from the coins themselves. The establishment of this system was the mark of Frankish independence from the empire. It lasted about a century and a half; after that Gaul again became a Roman province.<sup>2</sup>

In short, the monetary system of £. s. d. was established wherever Roman government prevailed—in Italy, Greece, Asia Minor, Armenia, Egypt, Carthage, Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Germany. It was not established by any state or people not subject to Rome, never by the pagan Angles, Jutes, Saxons, Franks, Slavs, or Huns, and never by the Moslem, whether in Arabia, Egypt, Africa, Spain, France, or Persia. After the dry bones of the sacred Empire fell into the hands of the Turks, in the fifteenth century, the latter, in order to accommodate their nummular language, so far as practicable, to the customs of the conquered Greek provinces, employed the £. and the d. to mean—not indeed what they formerly meant—but

<sup>1</sup> Charlemagne, at the Council of Frankfort (794), denounced the worship of the imperial images.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest rehabilitation of the Roman system appears in the capitulary of Pepin and Carloman, A.D. 743, wherein the sol is valued at 12 deniers (Guizot, iii, 27).

something that suggested it, and this practice afterwards found its way into other provinces of Turkey ; but it had no essential connection with the *£. s. d.* system, and employed only two denominations instead of the characteristic three.

Although it is probable that the libra of money (not the *£. s. d.* system) continued to be used in the Roman cities of Britain from the Roman period down to the time when these cities fell into the hands of the Anglo-Saxons, we have no certain evidence of the fact. The earliest implication of the *£. s. d.* system in any document now extant occurs in the barbarian laws of Ethelbert, A.D. 561-616 (ss. 33-5), where certain fines are levied in shillings. No "libras" are mentioned ; nor no denarii for twelfths of the Norse aurar;<sup>1</sup> hence no entire adoption of the system can be positively inferred. The shilling of Ethelbert was probably either a Latin name for a coin identical in weight with the Norse aurar, or an anachronism, inserted by copyists at a later date.<sup>2</sup> In neither case would this text afford any certain indication when the *£. s. d.* system was re-introduced into Britain ; and there is no other evidence that can be relied upon of an earlier date than the reign of Ina, which was toward the end of the seventh century.

Measured by the clue of *£. s. d.*, the Anglo-Saxon chieftainships interrupted the continuity of Roman government in some parts of Britain during an interval of more than two centuries, that is to say, from a date some-

<sup>1</sup> See Roman gold coin of Canterbury mentioned in my "Ancient Britain," ch. xix.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop Fleetwood ("Chronicum Preciosum," pp. 52-4) gives examples from Brompton's translations of the laws of Ethelstan and Ina, in which the terminology and valuations of money were changed to suit the circumstances of the translator's times. Guerard and De Vienne give examples of similar alterations in the ancient texts of the Frankish, Lombardian, Frisian, and Burgundian codes of law.

what later than the edict of Arcadius and Honorius to the reign of Ina. In other parts there was scarcely any interval at all, for many of the Roman cities of Britain held out long after the legions departed, and even then, they capitulated on terms which involved, if they did not expressly admit, the imperial supremacy of Rome.

So far as it goes, the clue of *£. s. d.* harmonises with the myth of gold and the sacred ratio, and they all corroborate those other evidences which proclaim that except during a comparatively brief interval, which was probably no greater in Britain than in Gaul, the former remained a province of the empire from the reign of Claudius down to a much later period than is commonly supposed.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Freeman deems it probable that at the end of the sixth century there were still Roman towns in Britain tributary to the English chieftains, rather than occupied by them. Sir Francis Palgrave (i, vi) extends the Roman occupation of some British cities down to the seventh century. Du Bos, Savigny, and Gibbon concur in a similar belief with regard to some of the cities of Gaul.



## CHAPTER VIII.

### GOTHIC MONEYS.

Proofs that the earlier sagas were altered in the mediæval ages—Among these is their frequent mention of baug-money: an institution which did not survive the contact of Norsemen and Romans—Progressive order of Norse moneys—Fish, vadmál and baug moneys—The baug traced from Tartary to Gotland, Saxony and Britain—Gold baugs acquired a sacerdotal character—This was probably immediately after Norse and Roman contact—Subsequent relinquishment of baug-money and the adoption of coins—Proof that Cæsar encountered Norse tribes in Britain, derived from his mention of baugs—This view corroborated by archæology and philology—Subsequent Norse coinage system of stycas, scats, and oras—Important historical conclusions derived from its study.

IT needs but a cursory examination of the earlier sagas to be satisfied that they have been grossly mutilated. They jumble together events hundreds of years apart; they mingle details which belong to communities as yet ignorant of Roman customs with the affairs of communities well acquainted with them; they resurrect the Turkish or Scythian forefathers of the Norsemen, and set them down in the midst of mediæval Christian saints; they omit all mention of Rome or Roman affairs, or the Roman religion, or the causes of difference between the Norsemen and the Empire; they eschew dates, ignore the calendar, and commit the pagan festivals to oblivion. The silly explanation which has been offered to us of this disorder is that the sagas were popular songs,<sup>1</sup> which were repeated by word of mouth for centuries before they were committed to writing, and that this custom produced the confusion, omissions, anach-

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus ("Germania," iii) mentions the folk-songs of the Northern tribes.

ronisms, and other defects which now characterise them. There might have been a time when such an explanation was sufficient, but the class of people who offer them forget that the world grows and that knowledge is cumulative. We now know that language without a written literature to fix its terms and meanings is too ephemeral to last for centuries, indeed, that a few generations mark the utmost time during which it will remain unaltered. It was reliance upon this principle that led to the distrust of Macpherson's forged "Ossian," and that compels us to regard as mutilations the Eddas as produced by Saemund Sigfusson and Snorri Sturlason.<sup>1</sup>

In the present connection the liability of unwritten language to rapid mutation proves one of two things—either that the earlier sagas are mediæval fabrications in Latin, translated into the mediæval Norse and re-translated into the vernacular, which is precisely the case with Macpherson's spurious "Ossian"; or else they are mutilations of early Gothic or runic originals. Their repleteness of historical materials and local colouring belonging to the earlier centuries of our era, leads at once to the conclusion last-named.<sup>2</sup> It is this local colouring which marks the distinction between a mutilation and a forgery out of the whole cloth. Macpherson had no historical dates before him, therefore he was forced to forge his entire work; Sigfusson found plenty of history in the old written sagas, so he merely mutilated them, and, with the sobriquet of "The Learned," achieved that immortality which is ever the reward of virtue and fidelity. If any further proof than that afforded by the nature of language itself were needed to corroborate these views, it will be found in the frequent mention of anachronical moneys in the sagas. An example of this sort will be

<sup>1</sup> The historian of Iceland (A.D. 1056-1133) and his foster-grandson (A.D. 1178-1241).

<sup>2</sup> Charlemagne made a collection of these sagas, but these are now "lost" (Note to Murphy's Tac. "Germ.," iii, probably from Eginhard).

quoted in the present chapter from the Egil Saga ; others will appear as the argument develops.

The evolution of Norse monetary systems, whether in Iestia, Saxony, Scandinavia, Frakkland, Britain, Russia, or Iceland, usually proceeded in the following manner :— First, fish and vadmál (cloth) money ; second, baug, or ring-money ; third, imitations of pagan Roman coined money ; fourth, Norse pagan coinage system (partly derived from the Roman system) of stycas, scats, and oras ; fifth, intrusion of Moslem coinage system of dinars, maravedis, and dirhems ; sixth, replacement of the last by Christian Roman coinage system of £. s. d. This progression did not occur simultaneously in the various countries named, because the Goths used coined money in Britain before they employed fish-money in Iceland ; it was the usual order of progression in each country or petty kingdom by itself. From the period of their original settlement in Britain down to that of their contact with the Brigantes, the Norsemen used no coined money ; indeed, they had little or no commerce, and lived chiefly by hunting, fishing, and plundering. After each raid upon the enemy the plunder was “carried to the pole” and there divided. It is evident, from numerous analogous examples in the sagas, that in case of dispute the rival claimants fought it out at once, and the survivor took the lot. This is a custom, not of trading communities, but of predatory bands.

The first money of the Norsemen in Britain was probably fish, as was the case in Norway<sup>1</sup> and in Iceland down to the close of the last century. Sild, hring, or herring, is still used to mean money,<sup>2</sup> and the scad or scat (corrupted to scot), a fish of the same genus, has the same meaning in North Britain.<sup>3</sup> There are suggestions

<sup>1</sup> Frostathing Laws, xvi, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Poole, “Anglo-Saxon Coins,” i, 7.

<sup>3</sup> According to Mr. T. Baron Russell’s “Current Americanisms” (London, 1893) “seads” is still used for “current coin” in some parts of the United States.

of fish-money in the expressions "Rome-scat," "scot-free," "scot-and-lot," etc. Following fish, the money of the Norsemen in Britain was vadmál, a homespun cloth, measured by the arm's length; still later they used baugs, or ring-money. It was not until after all this that they began to strike coins.

Baugs were anciently that money of Scythia, northern China, and northern India of which a reminiscence still survives in the bangle or bangle.<sup>1</sup> At a remote period baug-money was introduced from Scythia into Egypt. Representations of it appear upon the stone monuments of Thebes. As for dates, Egyptian chronology has been so ruined in the various attempts made to fit it successively into the mythologies of Assyria, Greece, and Rome, that no reliance can be placed upon it. The baugs engraved at Thebes are round rings, which are represented as being placed in the scales to be weighed. No peculiarity of form and no stamp-marks distinguish them in the sculptures—facts that, coupled with the weighing, led the author in a previous work to doubt that they were money. Since that time "dozens of rings (stamped), with the names of Khuen-Aten and his family, and moulds for casting rings" have been found in the ruins of Tel-el-Amarna.<sup>2</sup> It cannot now be doubted that such rings were money, and we may also feel tolerably confident that they formed the principal circulating medium of Egypt during the time of the Hucos or Scythian kings. From Egypt baug-money made its way down the eastern coast of Africa, where the early Portuguese and Spanish navigators found it, the latter giving to the rings the name of manillas, or manacles. They were used in Darfoor (latitude 12° north, longitude 26° east) so late as 1850, for Mr. Curzon saw several chests full of gold baugs from

<sup>1</sup> The pinched bullet-money of Cochin China also appears to be a modification of the baug.

<sup>2</sup> Address of Dr. Flinders Petrie, before the Oriental Congress, London, September 6th, 1892. Khuen is evidently the Tartar "kung," or king.



that country at Assouan in 1854. They are still used on the West coast, from whence the present author had one of copper, shaped like the letter C, that is to say, with the two ends of the ring left apart.<sup>1</sup> Another line of baugs is traceable from Scythia to Gotland, where they are mentioned in sagas, which, although in their present form belonging to an era subsequent to the employment of baugs for money, are evidently mutilated versions of more ancient texts.<sup>2</sup> Egil having been paid two chests of silver as indemnity for his brother, "recites a song of praise," in which he alludes to the indemnity as "gul-baug," or gold rings, meaning money.<sup>3</sup>

The suspected mutilations of the sagas are corroborated by the known mutilations of the laws: "If a hauld wounds a man, he is liable to pay 6 baugar to the king, each worth 12 oras; if an arborin-madr wounds a man, he has to pay 3 baugar, and a leysingi (freedman) 2, a leudrman 12, a jarl 24, a kning 48, 12 oras being in each baug, and the fine shall be paid to those to whom it is due by law. All this is valued in silver."<sup>4</sup> The text of this law proves that it assumed its present form at three different dates. The first belongs to the barbarous period, when the indemnity was fixed in Gothic baugs; the second to the Roman period, when the baugs were valued in heretical oras, or Roman sicilici; and the third to the period when the oras were valued in Christian silver pennies. The original baug appears to have weighed about as much as three sovereigns of the present day.

A C-shaped figure, like that of the African baug above

<sup>1</sup> "History of Money," 133. Baugs, or ring-money, are mentioned by Pliny ("Nat. History," xxiii, 1).

<sup>2</sup> Baugs appear to have been also used by the tribes of the Baltic coasts after the Goths conquered or assimilated with them, for the term was employed by the Salic Franks, and is still employed in French to mean rings.

<sup>3</sup> Egil Saga. The Dutch still give the name of "gulden" to certain silver coins.

<sup>4</sup> Frostathing Laws, iv, 53; Du Chaillu, i, 549.

mentioned, is twice repeated on a stone slab from the Kivikgrave, near Cimbrisham, a monument assigned by archæologists to a very remote period. Whether it represents the baug or not cannot at present be determined,<sup>1</sup> but there is some reason to think it does, from the fact that gold baugs seem to have been clothed with a sacerdotal character. For example, Egil fastened a gold baug on each arm of the dead Thoroff before he buried him,<sup>2</sup> and a gold baug was paid for his bride.<sup>3</sup> Bagi was also the Parthian name for divine or sacred; it appears on all the coins of the Arsacidæ.<sup>4</sup> The originals of the Frostathing laws may have descended from the period before the Goths revolted from Roman control.

Specimens of Gothic baug-money are still extant. Gold, silver, and iron baugs will be found in the collections of Bergen, Christiania, Newcastle, York, and other centres of Norse antiquities. There are Gothic gold baugs (about one inch in diameter) and copper and iron baugs in the London and Paris collections. During the last century "a vast quantity of small iron ring-money was exhumed in the west of Cornwall, and one of these was deposited by Mr. Moyle in the Pembroke collection."<sup>5</sup> After the era of baugs the Goths used coins. Says Du Chaillu: "A barbaric imitation in gold of a Roman imperial coin was found with a skeleton at Aarlesden in Odense, amt Fyen," a district and island about 86 miles from Copenhagen.<sup>6</sup> A barbaric imitation of a Byzantine coin of the fifth century was found in Mallgard, Gotland.<sup>7</sup> A barbaric gold coin, falsely stamped with the image of Louis le Debonnaire, was found in Domberg, Zealand, and is now in the Paris collection.

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 28, in Du Chaillu, 88.

<sup>2</sup> Du Chaillu, ii, 476.

<sup>3</sup> Frostathing Laws, vi, 4; Du Chaillu, ii, 16.

<sup>4</sup> Geo. Rawlinson, "Seventh Monarchy," p. 66.

<sup>5</sup> Walter Moyle's works, i, 259.

<sup>6</sup> Du Chaillu, i, 262.

<sup>7</sup> Du Chaillu, i, 275.

When, several centuries before our era, the Celts came into contact with the Greeks, whether in Spain, Gaul, or Britain, they began to strike Celtish coins in imitation of Greek originals. In like manner, after the Goths came into contact with the Romans, or rather after they had learnt to abhor the religion of the Romans and despise their arms, whether in Moesia, Saxony, Zealand, or Britain, they began to strike Gothic coins in imitation of Roman originals. Such imitations are found in the uninscribed stycas, scats, and oras of early Britain—a fact which is deduced as well from the Latin name of the ora as the general type and composition of all the pieces.

When Goth and Roman first met in Britain was when the ring-money was still used by the former—a period clearly established by the following passage from the principal work ascribed to Julius Cæsar. Speaking generally of the tribes whom he encountered in Britain (B.C. 55), Cæsar says: “*Utuntur aut ære, aut nummo aureo, aut annulis ferreis, ad certum pondus examinatis pro nummo*”—“They used either bronze (money) or gold money, or iron rings of a certain (determined) weight for money.” The bronze metal, Cæsar adds, was imported.<sup>1</sup> It is evident that this ring-money was not used at the time by the Celtic or Gaelic tribes of Britain, because these tribes used coined money, which, as a measure of value, is more precise and convenient than baugs. The Celts also came from Gaul and Belgium, where coined money was already in use. Their productions and commerce were too varied for the employment of so rude a measure of value as baugs. Cæsar says their numbers were countless, their buildings exceedingly numerous,

<sup>1</sup> De Bell, “*Gall.*,” v, 12. Several readings of this important passage are given in Henry's “*Hist. Brit.*,” ii, 238. The reading in the text is from a MS. of the tenth century. Mr. Hawkins discovered that this passage had been materially corrupted in later copies (Hawkins, “*Silver Coins*,” p. 8, and Ch. Knight, “*Hist. England*,” i, 15, citing remarks on ancient coins in “*Moneta Historica Brit.*,” p. 102).

their wealth great in cattle and cultivated lands, and their industry diversified, including not only pasturage and agriculture, but also mining for tin and iron.<sup>1</sup> Baugs had not been used by the Celtic tribes for nearly three centuries, that is to say, not since they had learnt the superiority of coins from the Greeks. On the other hand, their use among the Norsemen at this or, perhaps, even a later period is proved by the sagas,<sup>2</sup> and the conclusion that the ring-money found in Britain by Cæsar belonged to the Norse tribes in the remoter parts of the island, and indicated their presence there, seems to be well sustained.<sup>3</sup> When added to the evidences of archæology, customs, and language, adduced by Wright, Stillingfleet, Pinkerton, Du Chaillu, Dawkins, Evans, and other writers on the subject,<sup>4</sup> the body of proof that the Norse settlement of Britain antedates its Roman settlement becomes difficult to overthrow.

The Norse-British coinage system consisted of stycas, scats, and oras. The styca was a small bronze coin, struck from the composition derived probably from the melting down of bronzes, and containing about 70 per cent. of copper and 20 of zinc, the remainder consisting of tin, silver, lead, and a minute proportion of gold. The extant stycas are confined by numismatists to Northumberland, but a coin of similar description, and used as a divider for the scat, must have been employed in Kent and

<sup>1</sup> Even after Cæsar had ravaged their lands, the Belgians were able to send him supplies of corn to Gaul ("De Bell. Gall.," v, 19, 20).

<sup>2</sup> The pagan Norse kings who ruled in Ireland used baug-money until they were driven out of that country in the twelfth century. This is what Sir John Lubbock, in his article on Money in the "Nineteenth Century," loosely called the "ring-money of the ancient Celts."

<sup>3</sup> Cæsar (v, 9 and 11) alludes to the civil wars which preceded his arrival in Britain, and which, since the Celts were all of one religion (the Druidical), we may reasonably surmise were occasioned by the encroachments of the heretical Norsemen.

<sup>4</sup> Doom-rings and numerous other Norse antiquities have been found in Britain.



elsewhere. The scat was an electrum coin, struck from the composition resulting from the melting down of gold and silver jewellery. The ora was a coin of pure or nearly pure gold. Originally containing about 30 grains of gold, it fell successively to  $22\frac{1}{2}$ , 20, 16, and even 13 grains. The electrum scats weighed about the same as the oras. The early oras are known among modern numismatists as gold scats. Sometimes the scats were stamped with the svastica, or with runes—a peculiarity that does not appear upon any coins issued by the southern kings of the heptarchical period. Eight stycas went to the scat, and eight scats to the ora. Owing to the composite nature of the scats, the ratio between gold and silver is indeterminable. Judging from the numerical relations between scats and oras, the ratio was intended to be 8 for 1. The coin ora must not be confused with the weight ora, which was afterwards the eighth of the mark weight; nor must the money of account, called the mark (of which more anon), be confused with the weight mark.

There is a remarkable similarity between the Gothic coinage system and that of ancient Japan. There, too, coins were made respectively of gold, electrum, and bronze; the gold and the electrum coins were of the same weight, and the relative value of these even-weighted coins indicated that of the metals which composed them.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the Norse-British systems were distinctly non-German. Styca and scat are Norse terms, and were not used in Germany; mark is also a Norse term, and, according to Agricola, it was employed by the Goths many centuries before it was known

<sup>1</sup> The Japanese system is fully described in "Money and Civilisation," chap. xx. The reader must, however, not argue too much from this resemblance. In the ruder societary life of the Anglo-Saxons exchanges were comparatively few and simple, and the monetary system was of minor importance; in the refinement of modern Japanese life, it affected the foundations of equity and civil order.

in Germany. The runic letters and svastica are both Gothic and pagan. The Germans did not strike gold coins. The ratio of 8 for 1 is Gothic; that of Germany followed the Roman law, and down to the thirteenth century was either 12 for 1 or some mean between this and the Gothic ratio. Finally, the independent issues of gold and electrum coins were essentially Gothic, because the Goths, down to the eighth, ninth, or tenth centuries, were pagans, and refused to acknowledge the pope; whilst the Germans, from the date when their country was made a province of the Empire, had invariably bowed to its ecclesiastical authority.

The Anglo-Saxon coins were not issued by any central authority, but by each local chieftain independently of the others. For this reason the valuation of the coins, and of the metals of which they were made, probably greatly varied. More important than all, the whole number of coins was uncertain and subject to the vicissitudes of war. A successful attack upon the Romans, who, down to the sixth or seventh century still held many of the walled towns of Britain, might in a single day have doubled the entire circulation of a given kingdom; whilst a repulse, followed by Roman pursuit and reprisals, might as suddenly have reduced the circulation to a moiety.

The reader will bear in mind that the ora described above was the original Gothic ora, afterwards called the gold shilling (gull skilling), not what the ora became in later ages. As time went on it continually fell in weight; the ratio of silver to gold changed from 8 for 1, to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  for 1, then to 10 for 1, then to 12 for 1; the number of scats—or, as they were afterwards called, pennies—to the ora, changed from 8 to 5, then to 4, then to 20, 12, 20, and 16.<sup>1</sup> In one instance there were 15

<sup>1</sup> Domesday Book; Ruding, i, 315. The relation of four scats to the ora was enacted prior to the middle of the tenth century ("Judicia Civitatis," Londoniæ; Ruding, i, 309).

minutæ to the ora. “Ora, vernacula aura, Danis öre, fuit olim genus monetæ, valens, 15 minuta.”<sup>1</sup> These may have been, not copper coins, but silver half-pence.<sup>2</sup> It would be tedious to explain the endless combinations to which the changes in the three terms—viz., weight, ratio, and value—gave rise. Eventually the ora became a money of account, and as the ora weight was one-eighth of the mark weight, so the ora of account was valued at one-eighth of the mark of account, which, during the Norman and Plantagenet eras, consisted of five gold maravedis, each weighing two-thirds of the Roman solidus. This mode of fixing the value of the ora gave rise to new and still more perplexing numismatic problems, all of which, however, are readily solved by the guides herein offered. For example, in the time of William I, there were still some actual gold oras extant, or mentioned in unexpired leases. These were valued in Domesday Book at 20 pennies, because their namesake, the ora of account, was in England one-eighth of the mark of account, and the mark of account was two-thirds of the libra of account. As the latter then consisted (in England) of 240 actual silver pennies, so the mark was valued at 160 pence, and the gold ora was valued at 20 pence.

If this mode of calculation, which was employed in England after the Norman conquest, be applied to the ancient Gothic system, in which the gold ora was of the same weight and value as one-fourth of the gold solidus or mancus, it would follow that the mark of account consisted of two mancusses instead of five maravedis. Thus, if an ora is 20 pence and a mark is 160 pence, then there are eight oras to the mark. If there were four oras to the mancus, there were consequently two mancusses to the mark. The fallacy of this mode of calculation, which

<sup>1</sup> Dolmerus, in Du Fresne, in Fleetwood, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> The minuta of the Netherlands was the Ies, or Es (Budelius).

some numismatists have used, arises from the employment of the *ora* in two senses—firstly, as a money of account, which it was in the eleventh century ; and, secondly, as an actual gold coin, which it was probably from the second to the seventh or eighth century.



## CHAPTER IX.

### MOSLEM MONEYS.

The empire of Islam—Conquest of the Roman provinces in Asia, Africa, and Spain—Administrative policy of the moslem—Monetary regulations—Numismatic declaration of independence—Origin of the dinar and dirhem—Singular ratio of value between silver and gold—Probable reasons for its adoption—Its worth as an historical guide—As a monetary example—Permanence of the tale ratio between dinar and dirhem—Moslem remains in the Western and Northern States of Europe : Spain, France, Burgundy, Flanders, Britain, and Scandinavia—Coinage system of Abd-el-Melik—Prerogative of coinage vested in the caliphate—Individual coinage unknown—Emir coinages—These substantially ceased with the reform of Abd-el-Melik—Legal tender in Egypt, Spain, and India—Weights and fineness of the dinar in various reigns—Same of the dirhem—Frontier ratios between gold and silver.

**I**SLAM, like Rome, was a sacred empire ; the sovereign was both emperor and high-priest, but with this remarkable difference, that whilst the Roman emperor demanded to be worshipped as a god, the Commander of the Faithful unswervingly directed all worship to be made to an incorporeal deity. Mr. Freeman perceives another difference. The Roman emperor, he says, was pontiff because he was emperor, whilst “the Prophet, from a spiritual teacher, gradually became a temporal lord, consequently his successor is only emperor because he is pontiff.”<sup>1</sup> I confess myself unable to follow this author, either as to the fact or its significance. The first Augustus was emperor for several years before the death of Lepidus enabled him to reunite the two offices in one person. After that time the Augustus or Basileus was the

<sup>1</sup> Freeman's “History of the Saracens,” p. 62.

emperor, and the emperor was the Augustus. Those who were proclaimed by the army were necessarily emperors before they could be invested as chief-pontiff. On the other hand, those who became sovereign-pontiffs by adoption or descent were both emperors and chief-pontiffs at the same time. With respect to the moslem, Mr. Freeman's inaccuracy is still more glaring. Mahomet was never a temporal lord; whilst several temporal lords, or emirs, ruled the empire which he did so much to erect, before Abd-el-Melik proclaimed himself an independent sovereign, and, uniting the pontificate to the throne, took the title of caliph and Emir-el-Moumenin, or Commander of the Faithful. Spain emancipated herself from the temporal but not from the spiritual control of the Arabian caliphs so early as A.D. 756; Egypt followed suit in A.D. 868. Abd-el-Raman I, was therefore an independent sovereign before he became a pontiff; indeed, he never became one. Says Lavoix: "The Omniades of Spain always respected the supremacy of the caliph." This was true down to the reign of Abd-el-Raman III, but not afterwards. The previous caliphs of Spain never styled themselves Emir-el-Moumenin, but he did. He was not only Commander of the Faithful; he was also En-Nasr-li-din-Allah, or "Servant of the Religion of God."

As usual, the coinage decides the point. The Arabian emirs or caliphs, call them what you will, struck no independent coins before Abd-el-Melik. Their coins bear the stamp of Roman suzerainty; the emblems of the Roman religion; the legends of Roman superstition. These are proofs that until Abd-el-Melik the Arabian caliphs were not independent sovereigns. But the coinage proves more than this: it proves that the temporal sovereignty of the caliphs did not arise from their spiritual authority. This existed from the time of Mahomet, while the temporal sovereignty only began with Abd-el-Melik. Another proof of the correctness of this view is derived from the coinage of gold, which, with the Arabs as with

the Persians and Romans, was a sacerdotal prerogative. This prerogative belonged to the caliph as the sovereign-pontiff of Islam. The early emirs struck no gold, not even with Roman devices, and when Abd-el-Melik struck gold, the sovereign-pontiff of Rome, who was aware of its significance, immediately declared war upon him. It was the same in Spain. The Spanish caliphs struck no gold before Abd-el-Raman III. Until then the gold coins used in Spain were struck by the Arabian caliphs as Commanders of the Faithful. In Egypt it was the same. When the first Fatimite King struck gold in that province he meant it to be understood, and the caliphs so construed it, that he regarded himself as independent of the caliphate, and was prepared to take the consequences of that declaration.

The spiritual and temporal attributes of the caliph, and the important bearing which this dual character had upon the development of the moslem empire, is best shown by the historian Dozy. The empire rose by the strength which it derived from this union of the spiritual and temporal powers; it fell by the weakness which invariably follows such an union. The strength was born of religious enthusiasm; the weakness resulted from the impractical features of hierarchical government.

The demands of space forbid us to follow this subject any further. Our object is not to trace the history of Islam, but of its monetary systems in Europe. We can, therefore, only glance at the events connected with the establishment of moslem government.

It is a common mistake to confound the rise of Saracenic power with the advent of Mahomet. Three centuries before his time the frontier tribes of Arabia had ventured to resist the authority of Rome, and under their goddess or queen Mania<sup>1</sup> their strength had been sufficient to defy and overthrow an imperial army. Their religion had

<sup>1</sup> Rufinus calls the Arabian queen Mania; Socrates and Sozomen call her Mavia. The name is probably the same as Maia, Maria, etc.

also taken form. Sozomen, describing the Arabs of the fourth century, says: "They practice circumcision, refrain from the use of pork, and observe many other Jewish rites and customs." It may be added that they observed many religious rites and customs which were afterwards adopted by the Roman church.<sup>1</sup>

However, the establishment of Islam is certainly due to Mahomet and his successors, and to their conquests of Persia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain. It is through this last-named country that France, England, Germany, and America are interested in the progress of the Arabian monetary systems.

At the time of Mahomet and the emirs the Arabs numbered about 120,000 fighting men. These constituted that army of invasion which accomplished its work with so much courage and energy. After repelling the forces which had confined them to the desert, they burst out upon Rome and Persia, at that time the two most powerful States of the Western world. In less than ten years they subdued Irak, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, and turned these countries into "the dwelling of the Arab race, the kernel of the empire, the garden where Religion and Victory were born together."<sup>2</sup> The attack was so rapid that the conquest proceeded almost without administrative organisation. Locally this was left entirely in the hands of the conquered races. In Persia the conquerors, who were rough soldiers and awkward in clerkly duties, employed Jewish or Persian writers and accountants. The native language was retained. In Syria the principal servants of the Arabian government down to the reign of Abd-el-Melik were "Arian" Greeks. For example, one Sergius, a Greek, was superintendent of finances, or collector of taxes. But in the reign of Abd-el-Melik all was changed. The civil government of Irak was taken from the Persian writers and given to Arabians.

<sup>1</sup> Stanley's "Sabean Philosophy," p. 800.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Kaldoun.



The Domesday Book of Syria was translated into Arabic ; the registry of the treasury, the tax lists, and the text of the laws all became Arabic.

It was the same with the coinage. During nearly sixty years following the conquest, this privilege and function was exercised by local emirs, who employed Persian, Greek, or Hebrew moneyers. The sizes, types, and inscriptions of the coins, their weight, fineness, value, legal function, and other characteristics were copied with precision from the current coins and monetary systems of the subdued nations.<sup>1</sup> Under Abd-el-Melik this was all reformed. The coins became wholly Arabian, and among the characteristics which they acquired was one which was carried westward, and continued to influence the coinages of Europe until after the discovery of America. This was the peculiarly Arabian valuation of silver to gold of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  for 1. But before explaining this subject, let us first briefly follow the Arabian conquests through Africa to Spain.

An interesting relic of antiquity, communicated to the world in recent years, assures us that the Arabian policy in Egypt was the same as in Persia and Syria—the local administration was at first left entirely in the hands of the conquered nation.<sup>2</sup>

John of Nikios, after describing the anarchical condition of the religious community in Egypt, the dissensions which distracted it, the persecutions instituted by

<sup>1</sup> From Abd-el-Melik the Arabs seldom omitted an opportunity to proclaim upon the coins the unity of God. The ordinary motto was, "There is no God but the one God." Upon the bilingual coins it varied ; for example : "In Nomine Domini Misericordis. Unus Deus." . . . "Non est Deus nisi Solus Deus cui non socius Alius." . . . "Non est Deus nisi, Unus cui non Deus alius similis." The coinages of the emirs began as early as A.D. 638 ; of Ali, 660 ; Abd-el-Melik, 685.

<sup>2</sup> "Chronique de Jean, évêque de Nikiou" (Nikos), texte Ethiopien, publie et traduit par H. Zotenberg, Paris, 1883. This bishop lived in Egypt during the latter half of the seventh century, that is to say, at the time of the Arabian invasion.

the sacred emperor Heraclius, and the joy with which the inhabitants forsook the Roman for the moslem yoke, notices the wisdom of the Arabian policy in retaining native administrative officers. Says John: "After the moslem conquest a man named Menas, whom the Emperor (of Byzantium) made præfect of Lower Egypt, and who despised the Egyptians, was, nevertheless, retained at his post. The moslem also chose another Greek, named Sinoda, as præfect of the province of Rif, and another, named Philoxenos, as præfect of Arcadia or Fayoum." Even when Menas was removed from the government of Alexandria, the moslem replaced him by John of Damietta, a Greek, who had also been a præfect under the Emperor, and who, moreover, had successfully exerted himself to save the city from injury by its Arabian conquerors. This was his recommendation to them.

The conquest of Africa was very different from that of Persia, Syria, and Egypt. In these countries the worship of Cæsar had deeply disgusted the inhabitants with Roman rule, and even where "Christianity"<sup>1</sup> had supplanted emperor-worship, the people never became wholly reconciled to the religion of their conquerors. The Berbers of Africa, being more remote from Byzantium, were less troubled by religious disputes. Neither the worship of Augustus, nor Bacchus, nor of the reigning emperor, gave them much concern. They were strangers to both the Latin and Greek tongues, and came but little into contact with the officials, either secular or sacred, who had been appointed over them. Hence they were not divided by schism, and were far from being disposed to welcome the new race of religious enthusiasts and conquerors. The conquest of the other provinces of Rome had been effected by the moslem in campaigns, which, ending with the battle of Nevahend (A.D. 641), had lasted less than ten years. The

<sup>1</sup> It is hardly necessary to remind the intelligent reader that the so-called "Christianity" of the seventh century bore but slight resemblance to the Christianity of the present day.

conquest of the African provinces of that empire cost them half a century of fighting. The country which lay before them comprised Tripoli to the Tingitane, Central Maghred, and Western Maghred. Two races occupied it; the sea-ports were in the hands of the Byzantines, who also possessed, in the interior, military posts defended by strong garrisons. The Byzantine legate reigned at Carthage; Gregory, the patrician, governed at Sufetula; the rest of the country was filled by the warlike Berbers, chiefly in Auras, Zab, and Hodna, where they had established themselves during the contests between the Romans and Vandals.

After a series of preliminary raids and skirmishes, during which the moslem established bases of supplies at Zaueilah and Barkah, they prepared for a more extended campaign in A.H. 49. This was under the chief command of Akbar-ben-Nafi, who, in A.H. 50, founded the city of Kairoun. At the end of twelve years' hard fighting Akbar had penetrated westward so far as Ceuta, then commanded by Count Julian. From the flanks of this fortress Akbar first beheld the limitless ocean of the West and the towering Rock of Hercules, Calpe (or Gibraltar), beyond which lay the famed land of gold and silver. Leaving Ceuta on his right, Akbar marched straight on to Tangier. Here, while separated from his army, and defended by only 300 cavaliers, he was ambushed and massacred by the enemy.

Zohair-ben-Kais, and after him Hasan, having succeeded to the command of the moslem forces, other campaigns followed, in which Carthage was won, then lost, and then won again. With its second winning the Roman garrisons in Africa were virtually subdued. The natives, however, were far from being conquered. Under their queen, Kahinah, they held the Arabians in check, and eventually defeated them. Africa seemed unconquerable. After this defeat—the most terrible that the moslem had ever sustained—Hasan received orders from

the indomitable caliph to renew the war. This time Kahinah was defeated, and Kairoun retaken. The moslem armies again took up the march for Ceuta. Hasan was now replaced by Mousa-ben-Nosier, under whose vigorous command Ceuta was secured, and (A.D. 704) the arms of Arabia were carried to the Western Ocean.

Five years later Abou-Zoriah-Tharik-ben-Zaid (better known to us as Tarik), under the orders of Mousa, passed the Straits of Hercules with one hundred horse and four hundred foot soldiers, debarked at the Rock, captured and sacked the town, as well as the neighbouring cities of Carteia and Algeciras, and then returned to Africa rich with spoils. Next year Tarik landed with a larger force, better equipped, and boldly advanced to meet the Gothic army of King Roderic. Except when the Saracenic vassals of the empire, whom Valens in 378 had called to the defence of Constantinople, and whose savage valor had avenged his death by bloodily repulsing the Goths from the suburbs of the capital, this was the first occasion when the moslem and the Gothic arms came into conflict, and here, again, victory was with the Arabs. The immediate consequence of the action was to open the road to Toledo, and in an incredibly short space of time nearly the whole of Spain fell into the hands of the invaders. The fame of this extraordinary exploit aroused the jealousy of Mousa, who, crossing from Africa, hastened to complete the conquest of Spain, and share the vast spoils of Tarik. By A.H. 94 (A.D. 712) the conquest was completed, and Mousa, like Cortes at a later period, found himself master of an empire greater and richer than that of the caliph his master.

In every country that fell beneath their sway the policy of the moslem was the same: they imposed a tribute (usually of about one dinar per capita per annum) upon the inhabitants, but only so long as they remained kafirs or infidels. The moment they accepted the moslem formula—"There is but one God"—the tribute was taken



off, and they became Mahometans and freemen. The civil administration of Spain was entrusted to native (Gothic) clerks and leaders. The coinage, which began in each country from the moment that victory was assured, were always an exact imitation of the previous local coinage. No change at all is perceptible at first. For example, Mousa commenced to strike coins from the moment that the conquest of Spain was effected, and one of these pieces is still extant.

In A.H. 37 (A.D. 658), during the civil contest between Ali and Moawiyah, the latter "bought peace of the Emperor Constans by a round sum of ready money and the payment of a daily tribute." In A.H. 59 (A.D. 679), after his repulse from the walls of Constantinople, Moawiyah was fain to purchase peace from Constantine Pogonatus by an annual tribute of 3,000 libras of gold, fifty slaves, and fifty Arab horses.<sup>1</sup> In A.H. 67 (A.D. 686) Abd-el-Melik, being at that period involved in civil war with the Mardaite, bought peace of Justinian II, (afterwards called Rhinotmetus) by the payment of a tribute of 1,000 gold solidi or dinars per annum for ten years. Down to this time these coins were struck by Abd-el-Melik, with Roman emblems and legends upon them. Six years later the Arabian caliph, having disposed of the Mardaite trouble, determined to assert his independence of Rome, and by a token understood of all the world. He struck gold coins with his own effigy, holding a drawn sword, as afterwards did Edward III, when he renounced the same dread authority. Abd-el-Melik's dinars bore this challenging legend: "The Servant of God, Abd-el-Melik, Emir-el-Moumenin." These coins Justinian refused to receive, because, says Zonaras, "It is not permitted to stamp gold coins with any other effigy but that of the emperor of Rome."<sup>2</sup> Whereupon a war

<sup>1</sup> Freeman (pp. 90, 91) says "pieces" of gold, or dinars.

<sup>2</sup> Consult Theophanus (pp. 751-818); Cedrenus (eleventh century) and Zonaras (twelfth century) on this subject.

was declared by Justinian, which lasted until the latter was driven from his throne by a civil revolt, which occurred in A.D. 695. Justinian was banished by his successor to the Crimea, where he married the daughter of a Mongol chieftain. He afterwards escaped to Bulgaria, where he married the daughter of a Gothic chieftain. Then, in A.D. 705, he appeared before Constantinople with an army of barbarians, and re-entered it in triumph. Among his first acts was the striking of a gold solidus, with which he hurled back the religious challenge of the Arab. Upon this solidus appears the legend: "Our Lord Justinian, the Servant of Christ."

The monetary system of Abd-el-Melik consisted of coins of purely Arabian type and legend. The ratio between silver and gold was that oriental valuation of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  for 1, which marked for several centuries the line of separation between the moslem and Christian States of Europe. The Arabian ratio was fixed by striking dinars, each of approximately 65 grains, and silver dirhems of approximately 43 grains, and valuing ten of the latter, in the law, at one of the former. Unless the purely economical considerations, which will presently be adduced, are deemed sufficient, it is difficult to discern the reasons for establishing this peculiar ratio; yet practical politicians will assure us that economical considerations have never been the principal influence which determined the policy of nations.<sup>1</sup>

The ratio of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  may have been a reaction from the coinages effected under the ratio of 13, mentioned by Herodotus concerning the ancient Persian tributes;<sup>2</sup> or it

<sup>1</sup> "The events of the last few years on both sides of the Atlantic have proved that men are not now, any more than they ever were, chiefly governed by calculations of material profit and loss" (Bryce, "Holy Roman Empire," p. 301).

<sup>2</sup> Thalia, p. 95. Some warrant for this hypothesis is afforded by the Brazilian milreis, which, though derived from that of Portugal, contains only half the same quantity of fine metal ("Hist. Money and Civilization," chap. xii).

may have been due to the fact that in all the western countries conquered by the moslem, silver was chiefly in the hands of the people, whilst gold was in those of their rulers; and the great alteration which was made in their relative value was a covert bribe to gain the suffrages of the former and reconcile them to moslem government and religion. But it is far more likely to have originated in a simpler and straightforward manner. The Athenian, Persian, Egyptian, and Roman governments had successively absorbed a large portion of the profits derived from the Indian trade, by lowering the value of silver (in which their tributes were chiefly received) in the Occident to half its value in the Orient. By making the bullion trade a strictly governmental monopoly, as Cicero informs us was the case with Rome, that hierarchy obtained twice as much gold for silver in India as it paid for it in Europe. This policy, except where it was swept away by the influence of Islam, was pursued until the Roman empire expired. The Arabian government was more considerate of its merchants: it threw open the oriental trade to all true believers; it imposed no restrictions; it was averse, at least at that period, to the imposition of covert exactions. During the seventh century of our era the ratio in India was about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  for 1, and this high valuation of silver in India continued substantially unchanged until the fifteenth century. It was at the Indian ratio that the moslem struck their coins of gold and silver.

Whatever the true reason of this policy, it was certainly more profitable for the moslem conquerors than had they adopted the contemporaneous Roman ratio of 12 for 1. A brief computation will serve to measure this profit. After consulting those Arabian authors who have treated the subject, and making allowances for instances where exaggeration seems to have been employed, we have ventured to roughly estimate the moslem spoil of the precious metals, including the tributes exacted from the conquered nations during the first eighty years of the

conquest, at about five million marks' weight of gold and about one hundred million marks' weight of silver.

In determining at what relation of value of one to the other metal this mass of gold and silver should be coined, Abd-el-Melik may be reasonably supposed to have indulged in some such considerations as the following :

"We have a vast treasure before us to coin. At what ratio of value between silver and gold shall we coin it? Our armies are invincible; the populations are tired of Roman rule; our conquests will extend. Arabia is a commercial country, watered by three oceans—the Mediterranean connects it with the West, the Euxine with the North, and the Red Sea with India and China. The influx of the precious metals, due at first to our arms, will be continued by means of trade. In the Roman empire and its feudatories the coinages have hitherto been conducted on the basis of 12 weights of silver for 1 of gold; in the Orient the ratio is 6 or 7 for 1. It is evident that the most profitable, perhaps also the most important, part of our commerce will be with what we soon hope to call our Indian empire; and it is more desirable that our moneys should harmonise with the Indian than with the Roman coinages. It must also not be forgotten that to conform with the Roman coinages would involve us in pecuniary loss, whereas to follow the oriental ratio would afford us a profit. Judging from the proportions of the metallic spoil thus far captured, we shall secure about twenty times as much (in weight of) silver as gold, and assuming that we eventually secure 100,000,000 marks of silver, and coin it at the Indian ratio, our fund will amount to 1,120,000,000 dinars; whereas if we coin at the Roman ratio, it will only come to 746 $\frac{2}{3}$  millions. Let those who are learned in the art of arithmetic make the calculation for themselves. The only questions left to consider are these: Can we permanently maintain this ratio of value—so different from that established by the coinages of the Roman empire, a large portion



of which, however, is already subject to our arms? Will not our gold dinars flow out and silver metal come into Arabia to take its place? and, if so, will not this prove injurious to our affairs? These questions can be answered very readily. As we have already gained control of the Egyptian, and, please Allah, will soon have control of the Spanish mines, from what other country is the silver metal to come which is to buy our gold dinars? Answer—No country. As we have driven the Romans from the Mediterranean, and will soon control the commerce of maritime Europe, whither could our gold dinars go outside of the influence of our own trade? Answer—Nowhere. If, nevertheless, such an unlikely thing should come to pass, how much should we lose were our 280,000,000 of gold dinars to flow out and we received for them 280,000,000 dinars' worth of silver at our own ratio of valuation? Answer—Nothing. Then what is the objection to the adoption of such a ratio of value between silver and gold as best suits our present interests and our probable future trade with India? Answer—None whatever.”<sup>1</sup>

Encouraged more than likely by reflections of this character, the Arabians commenced, under Abd-el-Melik, that system of purely Arabian coinages which continued until the centre of their empire was virtually removed to India, and they had lost control of both the mines and the commerce of Europe.

These coinages were for several centuries conducted on the basis of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  weights of coined silver as the equivalent in value of 1 weight of coined gold. This was not only a peculiar ratio; it differed so greatly from the Roman one of 12 for 1 that it can never fail to be recognised wherever and whenever it existed—whether in the coun-

<sup>1</sup> At the ratio of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  there would be 56 dinars and 84 dirhems struck from the mark weight; at the ratio of 12 there would be 56 of each coin struck from the mark weight. The difference in the total sum would amount to  $373\frac{1}{3}$  millions of dinars.

tries of Islam or elsewhere. Moreover, when found elsewhere, it is an infallible sign of moslem connection or influence. As in the remains of antiquity the presence of silk and porcelain denotes commerce with China; of spices, with India; of tin, with Britain; of amber, with Iestia; and of papyrus, with Egypt, so, in the monuments of the mediæval ages, does the establishment of this peculiar ratio of value between silver and gold in coins denote intercourse with the Arabians. Wherever this ratio was adopted merely by giving currency to Arabian coins at Arabian values, the intercourse with Arabians may have been limited to commerce. Where the ratio was established by means of local coinages, based on the moslem valuation and supplemented by the use of moslem types, the former implies resistance to Roman government, and the latter implies the presence of moslem artificers. Where to the moslem ratio and types was added the moslem religious formula, "There is but one God," this definitively bespeaks the presence of moslem influence, and a formal protest against polytheism. All these will be found in some mediæval States—the moslem ratio, type, and religious formula; hence their historical significance.

When it is borne in mind that the moslem empire was a sacred one, that the moslem coinages, like the Roman or Byzantine, were employed as a means of disseminating religious doctrine, and that, also like the Roman, the legal ratio of value between coins of the precious metals, once fixed, remained unchanged for centuries, the importance of the moslem ratio for solving other historical problems will be better understood. For example, how far did the moslem conquest and occupation of France extend? and how long did it last? are questions to which a far more reliable answer will be found in the Merovingian coinages than in the popular story of Martel's victory.<sup>1</sup> To what extent, at a given era, was Christianity

<sup>1</sup> One of the earliest Arabian dinars, now in the Paris collection, was

established in Gothic countries, is a problem to be solved much more satisfactorily by means of the coinages and valuations which prevailed in those countries than by listening to the airy fictions of the Quindecemviral College.

We find moslem remains or else marks of moslem influence in the antiquities of England, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Frakkland (Burgundy), Spain, and other Gothic or semi-Gothic States of the seventh and eighth centuries. In Sicily moslem marks continue to the twelfth century, and in Spain to the fifteenth. Whenever we find them we have not far to look for the frontier-line of Christianity. Since the Julian era, in whatever country the ratio of 12 prevailed, that country may be safely regarded as having been first under Roman-pagan, and afterwards under Roman-Christian domination; in whatever country west of India the ratio of 7 or  $6\frac{1}{2}$  prevailed, it may be regarded as having been under moslem influence. But for the influence of the archaic Gothic ratio of 8, explained elsewhere, it might also be concluded that wherever any intermediate ratio between  $6\frac{1}{2}$  and 12 prevailed, that place was at or near the frontier-line between the spheres of Roman and moslem influence.

To those to whom the ratio of value between the precious metals appears due to any other circumstance than the arbitrary laws of national mints, or to those whose attention to the history of this recondite subject has now been drawn for the first time, the ratio may seem a strange or inadequate criterion of political or religious domination; but it is precisely in such obscure relations between great and little things that an all-wise Creator has sheltered the truth of history from man's destructive powers. The forgery of books, the defacement of monuments, the perversion of evidences, the extermination of nonconformists, the invention of fabulous cosmogonies found at Autun, with two Merovingian coins (Lavoix's Catalogue, No. 26).

and superstitious fictions—all are made in vain to conceal or crush the truth so long as a blade of grass or a breath of air remains on earth to reveal it; for all Nature is united in a mysterious harmony, and to even approximately master one branch of science is to gain a key which, with patience and industry, may eventually unlock for us all the others.

The moslem systems of money were based on the dinar coin, whose weight was called a mithcal, this word meaning literally “any weight with which one weighs;” in other words, the mithcal of money was the weight of the dinar, which was theoretically a symbol, a money of account, forming part of a monetary system, but palpably a single coin, containing 65 grains fine gold, this having been the average contents of the Roman solidus at the period of the first Arabian coinage.<sup>1</sup> In the earliest moslem system (period of Mahomet) the mithcal was divided into 96 parts, as follows: 96 barleycorns=48 habbeh=24 tussuj=6 danik=1 mithcal. The ratio of silver to gold in this system was 12 for 1. Hence the silver drachma, of which 12 went to the gold dinar, contained 65 grains fine silver.<sup>2</sup> In the system established by Abd-el-Melik, about three-fourths of a century after the Hegira, the mithcal was divided into 100 parts, as follows: 100 barleycorns=20 karats=1 mithcal. Hence a barleycorn of this system weighed 0·65, or about two-thirds of a grain, and a karat  $3\frac{1}{4}$  grains. Both the Roman binary weights and the Roman ratio of silver to gold were now dropped. The weights became decimal. The gold dinar remained unchanged, but the principal silver coin was modelled upon the average Sassanian dirhem of 14 karats, or seven-tenths (in weight) of the dinar, and it took the name of its Sassanian prototype. Hence the

<sup>1</sup> The extant solidus of Heraclius I, weighs 69·9 grains, about 65 grains fine.

<sup>2</sup> Esh Shafy and Ibn Hanbal both affirm that the ratio was 12 in the time of the Prophet.



dirhem theoretically contained seven-tenths of 65 grains =  $45\frac{1}{2}$  grains. The dinar was valued at 10 dirhems—a valuation derived from the ordinances of the Prophet, and one which it would have been sacrilegious to alter. The law of the Prophet levies a tithe on all possessions of the precious metals, amounting to 5 oukias, or 200 silver dirhems, or 20 gold dinars.<sup>1</sup> Here the dinar is valued at 10 silver dirhems, and it remained so until the tenth century. This ratio had nothing to do with the value of billon, potin, copper, or glass dirhems, of which we have had to speak elsewhere; it related only to gold and silver coins of fine, or substantially fine, metal.

Had both the gold and silver coins of the Mahometan mints contained the full theoretical weight of metal, and had they been of like standard, alloy, or fineness, the weights given above would have made a ratio of 7 silver = 1 gold; but the actual circumstances were different. The dinars weighed 65 grains (0·979) fine; the dirhems weighed 43 grains (0·960 to 0·970) fine. Hence the ratio of value between silver and gold in the coins was 6·52 for 1.<sup>2</sup>

There has been a good deal of confusion and misunderstanding on this subject, and it is essential to clear it up in this place. El-Hassan, an Arabian writer (A.H. 22–110), calculated the theoretical ratio of value between the precious metals in the coinage at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  for 1, which is just half of the true theoretical ratio. Bergmann, a recent writer, doubled the theoretical ratio, and made it 14 for 1. Queipo doubled the actual ratio, and made it 13 for 1. These errors probably arose from mistaking the number of dirhems to the dinar. El-Hassan may have assumed 5 to be the correct number; Queipo and Bergmann certainly assumed the number to be 20. The correct legal number was 10.<sup>3</sup> M. Sylvestre de Sacy supposed that, because there were 10 dirhems to the dinar, the ratio was 10 for 1.<sup>4</sup> This would be true if

<sup>1</sup> The Koran, as revised by Othman or Ali.

<sup>3</sup> Sauvaire, pp. 49–55.

<sup>2</sup> “Money and Civilization,” p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Sauvaire, p. 55.

the weights and fineness of the two coins were alike, but not true as the case stood.

The average gross weight of 2,222 whole dinars now extant, and dating from A.H. 76 to 132, is 65·3 grains; that of 6,982 whole dirhems of the same period is 43·36 grains, all of them being coins in the best state of conservation.<sup>1</sup> The legal valuation of 10 dirhems to the dinar will be found repeatedly confirmed in the works of Makrisi, de Sacy, Queipo, Lavoix, Sauvaire, and Poole. The standard, or fineness, of the coins is given by Sauvaire. The conclusion that the ratio was (approximately) 6½ for 1 therefore stands upon very solid grounds.

*Coinage system of Abd-el-Melik, A.H. 73 (A.D. 692). Ratio of silver to gold 6·52 for 1.*

6 copper fels	= 1 silver dirhem, 41·495 grains fine.
10 dirhems	= 1 gold dinar, 63·635 grains fine.
4 dinars	= 1 oukia.
5 oukias	= 1 nisab.

Hence 240 fels = 1 oukia.

Ed. Bernard ("Mens. et Pond.," p. 188) gives also the equivalent of 700 mithcals, or dinars, equal 1 talent; but whether this applies to Abd-el-Melik's time or not is uncertain. The talent appears to have had only a local meaning, which varied from five dinars to almost any number. The original word for it in the Koran is "quintar." "There are some who if thou entrust them with a talent (quintar) give it back to you; and some if thou entrust them with a dinar will not return it" (*Imran's Family*, iii; *Medina*, v. 60).

Reverting to the subject of the ratio, because of its great importance, both from the numismatic, the monetary, and the historical point of view, Sauvaire, in his "Matériaux," gives 57 eccentric valuations of the dirhem to the dinar, which are repeated by Poole in the "London Numismatic Chronicle" for the year 1884. Of this number thirty-one (or more) belong to Egypt, and only

<sup>1</sup> Sauvaire.

one to Spain. These commence in A.H. 363-5, and vary from 50 in the fourth century of the Hegira to  $13\frac{1}{2}$  in the sixth century. They relate not to silver, but to billon dirhems, some of which—for example, the *nukrah*—contained but 10 per cent. of silver, the rest being copper. In another instance (A.H. 815) the relation is between the dinar and the so-called “pure dirhem, each weighing a half-dirhem.” It is evident that no correct ratio of weight and value between the dinar and dirhem can be deduced from coins of this character. The other examples are equally useless. From the era of Mahomet to the fourth century of the Hegira there are no examples at all except one for A.H. 225, which is probably a corrupted Fatimite date. In this example there are 15 dirhems to the dinar. Some examples relate to copper coins, as the Delhi *tankah* dirhems of A.H. 823 (800 dirhems to the dinar); nearly all of them bear the impress of miscalculation, and none of them state the fineness of the coins. With the exception of the 12 for 1 in the time of the Prophet and the 10 for 1 in Bagdad (A.H. 632), I regard them as entirely worthless for the purpose of deducing the ratio of value between silver and gold.

The moslem always respected the 10 dirhems for 1 dinar, just as the Romans respected the 12 silver for 1 gold, and from similar motives. The relation of the dirhem to the dinar was ascribed to the law of the Prophet; the relation of 12 silver for 1 gold was fixed by Julius Cæsar. The former was not altered while the empire of Islam lasted; the latter remained unchanged until the throne of the Cæsars was overturned.

The prototype of the dinar has been mentioned; it was the Roman solidus. The dirhem, according to Sauvaise's translation of El Damiry, was based upon an average of the three sorts of silver coins then circulating in the Persian dominions. Those with the effigy of the king and the legend NOUCH KHOR, or “Feast in Health,” weighed one mithcal. Of the Samarys dirhems there

were two sorts, one weighing six-tenths of a mithcal, the other half a mithcal. The inscriptions on these coins were in Pehlvi. An average of the three sorts made seven-tenths of a mithcal, and accordingly this was the weight of the Arabian dirhem adopted by Abd-el-Melik. In A.H. 1276 (A.D. 1859) a Persian, named Djevad, paid into the post-office at Constantinople a dirhem struck at Bassora in A.H. 40. This dirhem is now in the Paris collection. Its weight is 36.13 English grains, but it is somewhat worn, and it may have originally weighed seven-tenths of a mithcal. It has been submitted to Mordtmann, Rogers, Longperier, Sauvaire, Waddington, and other competent judges, all of whom pronounced it genuine, the only dissentient voice being that of Mr. J. Stickel.<sup>1</sup> If genuine it rather discredits the Arabian account of the manner in which Abd-el-Melik got the weight of his dirhem, for it belongs to the reign of Ali, and the averaging of the three sorts of dirhems, if it was done at all, must have been done by him. This view is sustained by the tale equivalents cited from the Koran, a work revised in the reign of Othman or Ali. However, the Bassora coin may have followed the Samarys dirhem of six-tenths of a mithcal, in which case its original weight was 39 grains.

The prerogative of coining became vested in the caliphate from the moment of its inception. "I have left to Irak its dinar and to Syria its dirhem" is a boast ascribed to Mahomet, and which, whether true or false, and whether uttered by Mahomet or somebody else of the same era, implies control of the coinage from some centre of administration, either religious or civil. This is a point which will be discussed farther on. During the conquest, before the central administration was organised, the emirs or commanders in the field struck coins. This was merely to facilitate the distribution of the spoil, for these coins were exact fac-similes of those already in cir-

<sup>1</sup> J. Stickel, in "Handbuch zur Morgenlandischer Munzkunde," p. 51.



culation, including their religious emblems and legends. The division of the spoil was regulated by the Koran ; in all cases one-fifth of it went to the hierarchy. "Whenever ye seize anything as a spoil, to God belongs a fifth thereof." (Spoils, viii ; Medina, v. 40). This is the origin of the Royal Quinto, which the Spanish monarchs afterwards exacted from the conquerors of America.<sup>1</sup> The coins of the emirs extend from about A.H. 5 to A.H. 60. In a few instances such coinages continued after the administration was centralised by Abd-el-Melik, but they were gradually suppressed until the entire system was brought under the control of the caliph. We have the assurances of the Arabian numismatists and the corroboration of Lavoix that such control was rigidly exercised and jealously guarded.<sup>2</sup> No private individual dared strike a coin ; no individual had the right to require the government to strike a coin for him ; it was a felony for any person or corporation other than the State either to fabricate or destroy a coin.

In respect to the emir coinages the policy of the Arabians was similar to that of the Romans during the Punic wars, when the State, for reasons of convenience, permitted its commanders in the field to strike coins. Such was the whole foundation of that imaginary "prerogative of the imperium," with which Mommsen and Lenormant have enlivened the pages of their works on the Roman monetary system. In the Roman empire all suggestions of such a prerogative must certainly cease from the time when Augustus organised the administration ; in Islam they disappear with the coinage reforms of Abd-el-Melik. In both cases the coinage was really the prerogative of the State, and was only exercised by the imperatores, emirs, or commanders in the field, under the actual or anticipated authority of the State. In both cases the coinage became the prerogative of that hierarchy

<sup>1</sup> See my previous works for full discussions on this subject.

<sup>2</sup> Henri Lavoix, "Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes," 1891, 4to.

into which the State developed. In both cases the coins were employed, not merely for money, but also as means to proclaim accessions and to promulgate and disseminate religious doctrine.

But here the analogy ends. The Roman hierarchy continued down to the time when Constantinople was overthrown by the troops and allies of the Latin pope; until that event the coinage of gold was exercised solely by the Basileus.

Says Freeman: "That the caliph of the Prophet was the lawful lord of the world no true believer thought of doubting; but who really was the caliph of the Prophet was a question on which opinions might widely differ."

It was the same with the Roman government. That the Augustus was the lawful lord of the world no one presumed to question; but who was the lawful Augustus was often a matter of vital dispute. The difference between the Roman and Arabian hierarchies—at least so far as such difference affected the monetary system—was of another character. In the Roman empire the right to coin gold always remained with the sovereign-pontiff, and was never exercised by any other authority; in the Arabian empire, after the revolt of Spain and Egypt from the authority of the caliph, it was lost by the latter, and became vested in the independent sovereigns of those States, and was exercised by them and by other moslem sovereigns who had thrown off the same authority. A belief in the unity of God is not favourable to the maintenance of an hierarchy.

According to Lavoix, the gold dinar was the only full legal-tender coin of the moslem in Egypt. This may have been the case elsewhere in the Arabian empire, but so far as we can determine, not in Spain nor in India. In those States both gold and silver coins seem to have been clothed with the full legal-tender function. This only ceased to be true when the latter were adulterated.

## CHAPTER X.

### EARLY ENGLISH MONEYS.

Sterling standard—Type of the penny—Arabian coins in Gotland—Offa's dinar—The mark—The mancus—Arabian moneyers in England—Arabian ratio—Arabian metallurgists—The Gothic-Arabian monetary system.

OUR account of English moneys begins with the moslem remains which have been found in England. This does not allude either to the Moorish troops whom the Romans stationed at Watchtowers nor to the reputed Arabian remains in the Yorkshire Tyke (Tyrkr) dialect, but to the numismatic monuments of the mediæval age.<sup>1</sup> For reasons which will presently be adduced, we venture to regard the sterling standard of England as practically of moslem origin. By sterling standard we mean, not the nummulary terms *£. s. d.*, but the metallic composition of the silver sterlings—the alliage of all the best silver coins now extant of mediæval England. The mancus and carat are certainly moslem. The peculiar ratio of value between the precious metals in mediæval England was either wholly moslem or largely due to moslem influence. There is reason to believe that the sterling alliage was also moslem.

Although we have no Gothic-Arabian coin with an Arabian inscription earlier than Offa, and only one of that

<sup>1</sup> Muratori III (Dissert. xl. pp. 686–708) prints some rhymes embodying the medical precepts of the Arabians, which were addressed by a student at Bagdad to Edward Confessor, Rex Anglorum. The English words admiral, algebra, alkali, almanac, cotton, cypher, damask, damson, sheriff, and many others are well known to be Arabian. What is alluded to in the text is an obscure dialect only spoken in Northumberland.

prince, it is probable that other Arabian types of coins were introduced into England during the seventh century; for that period coincides alike with the earliest mention of the Arabian mancus in England and with the appearance of flat thin coins of nearly pure silver (and Arabian type), in place of the lumpish ones of composite metal which preceded them.

The moslem monuments of England may be conveniently described under the several heads of : Type of the so-called penny ; Arabian coins found in Scandinavia ; Offa's dinar ; Arabian moneyers in England ; Arabian ratio in England ; Arabian pre-eminence in the metallurgical arts ; and the practically Arabian origin of sterling.

*Type of the so-called Penny.*—This piece is a flat thin round silver coin, about three-quarters to seven-eighths of an inch in diameter ; in weight, from 17 in the earlier, to  $21\frac{1}{2}$  grains in the later, ages. It roughly coincided with both the Byzantine half-silique, or quarter-miliaresion, and the Norse scat, but it differs from them in size, composition, and design. These last-named pieces, especially the scats, are thicker and smaller, the diameter of the latter being usually about half-an-inch. The standard of the so-called penny is 0·925 to 0·960 fine, that of the quarter-miliaresion is about 0·900, and of the scats of this period indeterminable, because they were not made of refined silver, but of old jewellery. Pieces of the type of the so-called penny, and known at the time as half-dirhems, were coined by the Arabians in the seventh century, and carried by their armies to the coasts of the Caspian and, during the eighth century, into northern Africa, Spain, and France. Whilst the moslem were in possession of a large portion of France, Charles Martel struck coins of the same size, weight, and composition as their dirhems, while Pepin the Short imitated their half-dirhems. Modern numismatists call these last-named pieces deniers, or pennies. The design of the half-dirhem



was simply a few lines of writing with arabesque work. Such, also, was the design upon the so-called pennies of the Norse or Anglo-Saxon kings of England. Afterwards they stamped their own effigies on one side; but this was not a moslem practice, for with them it was strictly forbidden both by law and custom.

Although the use of the Arabian gold mancus in England during the seventh century, and the hoards of Arabian silver coins—some of them bearing an equally early date—which have been found in Gotland and in many other places in Scandinavia, afford reason for believing that the silver dirhem and half-dirhem were employed in England at the same period, yet the first certain appearance of what we have ventured to regard as the half-dirhem type in England was during the reign of Ethelbert II, king of Kent, who struck a silver coin of that description. It circulated side by side with the gold mancus of unquestionably Arabian origin,<sup>1</sup> thus leaving but little room to doubt the Arabian parentage of the former. Locally, however, the coin was not known as the half-dirhem, but variously as the scat and the penny, according to the local prevalence of Gothic or Roman nomenclature. At a later period it was appropriately called the “sterling.”

*Arabian Coins found in Gotland, &c.*—More than 20,000 moslem coins have been found in various parts of Scandinavia, chiefly in Gotland, some dated so early as A.H. 79, others so late as A.H. 401. The presence of such large numbers of these coins evinces an extensive commerce with Arabians, and implies the currency of their coins and familiarity with their ratio in Scandinavia and probably also in Mercia and Northumbria—in short,

<sup>1</sup> Keary assigns the first coins of this type to a still later date. “The pennies of Offa, struck about the year 760, were the first ever struck in England. Their artistic beauty was not equalled for many centuries, not until the period of Henry VII” (“English Coins,” p. xxii). These so-called pennies we regard as half-dirhems. The penny, or Roman denarius, was of a different size, thickness, and metallic composition.

Scandinavian England, or all England north of a line drawn between the Severn and the Wash.<sup>1</sup>

*Offa's Dinar.*—In every country which fell beneath their sway, whether Syria, Irak (Persia), Egypt, Barbary, Spain, or Sicily, the Arabians struck bilingual coins of the denominations and partly of the type of those which they found in circulation. "I left to Irak its dinar, to Syria its dirhem," boasted Mahomet. His successors took care to observe this wise policy. From the reign of Abd-el-Melik coins were struck by Arabian moneyers after the type of the dinars and dirhems which he prescribed. A gold dinar of this character belongs to the reign of Offa, king of Mercia,<sup>2</sup> and its type is only to be accounted for upon the supposition that that prince was obliged to employ Arabian moneyers. On this coin appears, in Arabic, the words "In the name of God. This dinar was struck in the year 157" (A.D. 774). The reverse has: "Mahomet is the messenger of God, who sent him with the doctrine and true faith to prevail over every other religion," and, "There is no other God than one God—He has no equal." Between the lines, in Latin, appear the words "Offa Rex." A description of this coin by Adrien de Longperier is published in the "London Numismatic Chronicle," iv, p. 232, and in Kenyon's "Gold Coins of England," 1884, where a facsimile also appears in the frontispiece. The coin itself was in the collection of the Duc de Blacas, who obtained it in Rome about the year 1840. It contains about 60 English grains of fine gold. Its genuineness has never

<sup>1</sup> At the period mentioned Kent formed part of the Mercian kingdom. Arabian coins of gold and silver have also been found eastward, in the Gothic province of Novgorod, and in Great Permja. Hundreds of round bronze coins with runic characters have been found in graves between the Irbyht and Toboll rivers. A cut of one appears in von Strahlenberg's valuable work, p. 408; see also pages 110 and 409.

<sup>2</sup> Murcia was one of the names of Venus and the name of one of the provinces of Spain. The gold maravedi was sometimes called obolus de Murcia.

been doubted. It has been asserted that towards the end of his life Offa declared or pretended fealty to the pontificate, and was summoned to Rome, where he performed homage and entered into an obligation to pay to the Holy See 365 mancusses a year as Rome-scat. The conversion and the pilgrimage to Rome are doubtful. Longperier believes that the bilingual dinar was the sort of coin stipulated. Its heretical inscription, which, although in Arabic, could not have remained long unread, supplies a reason for its early suppression and present rarity.<sup>1</sup>

*The Mark.*—The origin of the mark has ever been a mystery to the metrologists. Agricola says it is mentioned in the earliest annals of the Cimbrian peninsular.<sup>2</sup> This carries it back to the third century. Queipo deduces it from the half-rotl of Ptolemaic Egypt; De Vienne, following the German metrologists, traces it from Etruria; whilst Saigey discovers it in a weight which he imagines was sent by Haroun-al-Raschid to Charlemagne before the year 789. These metrologists must have overlooked Agricola; they also forgot the common custom of antiquity in using coins for weights.<sup>3</sup> Instead of seeking the origin of this weight, as they have done, by means of mere literary coincidences, had they placed in a scale two-thirds of the silver coins representing a Roman "libra" they would have found the mark at once. In the first place it is quite evident that the name "mark" is neither Egyptian, Etruscan, Gaulish, or even Arabic, but Gothic. Among the Saxons it meant a collective number of men or things—a community, a society, a clan, a market. Applied to money, it meant precisely what the Roman

<sup>1</sup> We are informed that upon Offa's return to England he built a monastery at Holmhurst, near St. Albans, another at Bath, and a church at Off-Church in Warwickshire, and that he was buried at Bedford (Speed, p. 362, ed. 1650, fol.). Perhaps.

<sup>2</sup> Bircherod, "Moneta Danorum," ed. 1566, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> See Herodotus, i, p. 65, where hair is weighed with a silver coin in Egypt.

"libra" of the Theodosian code meant, namely, five gold aurei, or else their equivalent value in silver. Among the Romans this equivalent was twelve times the weight of the gold; among the Northmen it meant eight times, because the ratio in Gothic coins was 8 for 1; hence the mark of money was always two-thirds of the "libra" of money, not of the Roman libra weight. During the third century, between the reigns of Caracalla and Probus, the aureus was degraded to 90 English grains fine; consequently a "libra" of money contained 450 grains of gold. The Roman equivalent of this weight of gold in the silver coins with which the barbarians paid their tribute was 5,400 grains. The Saxon equivalent of a gold libra of this period was (at 8 for 1) 3,600 grains, which is the Saxon mark weight.<sup>1</sup> In short, the mark was originally the Gothic equivalent at the ratio of 8 for 1 of a Roman libra.<sup>2</sup> From this mark of money descended the mark weight, and from the mark weight the *livre poid de marc* (two marks) of King John of France.

The mark of money is mentioned in the reign of Osbright, or Osbercht, the Norse pagan king of Northumbria (848-67); in the Alfred-Guthrum Treaty of 878; in the "Formanna Sogur," vi, p. 271 (a work ascribed to the tenth century); and in many other Norse writings.

*The Mancus, Quarter-mancus, and Half-dirhem.*—The gold dinar or mancus contained at first 65 grains, 0.979

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Fleetwood ("Chron. Prec.") regards the mark of money and the mancus coin as identical, but in this instance the learned and venerable numismatist is hopelessly wrong. Among other proofs the lawyer's fee of half a mark is still extant to refute him.

<sup>2</sup> These were the marks alluded to by Louis IX, in his reply to the moslem demand of ransom. But, as a matter of fact, in the various temporary valuations which were made in the course of changing from the moslem or the Saxon to the Roman ratio, the mark of account was not always valued at two-thirds of the libra of account. There are instances when the valuation was 150 pence to the mark, and at the same time 240 pence to the "libra."



fine, say  $63\frac{2}{3}$  grains fine, afterwards about 60 grains fine. Two heretical and exceptional mancusses (so called) of  $54\frac{1}{2}$  and  $51\frac{1}{2}$  grains gross weight are mentioned elsewhere. In purity and colour the mancus resembled no other coin of the Western world; hence it always retained the Arabian name of mancoush, or, as Latinized, mancus.<sup>1</sup> Such was not the good fortune either of the gold quarter-mancus or of the silver half-dirhem. These being smaller and less valuable coins, their superior purity and slightly different weight went unheeded, and in the intercourse between Goth, or Anglo-Saxon, and Roman, which took place in England, they passed respectively for the gold sicilicus and silver denarius. Although there was a difference in their purity, there was substantially none in the net contents of the mancus and besant, and these also passed for one another. As greater precision was obtained in refining the precious metals, and in striking coins of uniform weight, this practice gradually fell into disuse, but not until it had left the nummulary language of the period in great confusion. However, much of this disappears when the weights and fineness of the two classes of coins, Arabian and Byzantine, are contrasted in tabulary form. It is then perceived that while there was disagreement between the gross weights of the one set and those of the other, there was little or none in the fine contents of the gold coins, and also that each set of coins was by itself harmonious.

*Arabian coins, 0·960 to 0·980 fine.*

	Gross Eng. gr.	Net Eng. gr.
Gold dinar or mancus <sup>2</sup> . . . .	65·00	63·75
Gold quarter-mancus . . . .	16·25	16·00
Silver half-dirhem (0·925 to 0·960 fine) .	21·50	20·00

<sup>1</sup> Wex, "Métrologie," p. 114; De Vienne, "Livre d'Argent," pp. 43—56. Without agreeing with the conclusions of either of these writers, their works contain much incidental information on this difficult subject.

<sup>2</sup> The dinar was probably struck sixty to the mark weight, then of 3,600 to  $3,777\frac{1}{2}$  grains, while the besant was struck seventy-two to the

*Byzantine coins under Heraclius, about 0·900 fine.*

	Gross Eng. gr.	Net Eng. gr.
Gold solidus, or besant . . . . .	70·00	63·00
Gold sicilicus, or skilling . . . . .	17·50	15·75
Silver quarter-drachma, or whole denarius, or penny . . . . .	17·50	15·75

*Arabian Moneyers in England.*—Among the moneyers of the Norse and Anglo-Saxon kings, and afterwards of other kings of England, are many whose names are clearly Arabian. These names are: Ahlman, Ahlmund, Almuth, Alchised, Alchred, Abenel, Adulfere, Alghere, Alvyda, Abba, Aldruri, Baba, Babba, Beriche, Bosa, Baee, Bofa, Bora, Buga, Buiga, Dealla, Diar, Diola, Duda, Dela, Dia, Deid, Diora, Eckber, Eoba, Eaba, Eana, Elda, Enodas, Gineef, Heaber, Hussa, Hdiraf, Ibba, Idiga, Iaia, Lulla, Liaba, Ludic, Lil, Messa, Nom, Osmund, Osyaef, Ohlmund, Oshere, Osmere, Oba, Osmune, Oeldai, Tatel, Teveh, Tevica, Tata, Tila, Tisa.

Five centuries later than this period, Edward I, was obliged to send to Marseilles and Florence for artists skilled in refining and coining the precious metals.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, this was a common practice in England down to the fifteenth century; and it is not too much to suppose that the princes of the heptarchy sent in like manner for Arabian moneyers.

*Arabian Ratio in England.*—As will be seen in another place, the ratio of value between gold and silver was fixed by the coinages of Ethelbert, king of Kent, and Offa, king of Mercia, and perhaps other early English princes, at  $6\frac{1}{2}$  silver for 1 gold. This was a distinctly Arabian ratio, that of the Byzantine Empire being

Roman libra of, say, 5,250 grains; the sicilicus 288 or 300 to the libra, and the quarter-miliaresion 288 to the libra, or one-fourth of the whole miliaresion de sportula, which was ordered to be struck seventy-two to the libra (M. de Vienne).

<sup>1</sup> Lowdnes on Coins, p. 94.

always 12 for 1. The coinages of those Merovingian kings of France who spurned the authority of Rome must be classed, like Offa's, with the Arabian. The following table affords a view of various ratios of silver to gold prevalent in England from the early portion of the eighth to the twelfth century. Pepin le Bref adopted the Roman monetary system in 754 or 755, from which date he refrained from striking gold. The ratio of valuation between his silver coins and the gold solidi of the Empire was 12 for 1, for the solidus is valued in the texts of the period at 40 silver pence, and the quarter-solidus, or *petite sou d'or*, at 10 pence. The ratio being 12 for 1 in France, it is difficult but not impossible to believe that, at the same period, it was successfully and permanently kept at  $6\frac{1}{2}$  or  $6\frac{2}{3}$  for 1 in England. However, there is no reason to doubt the ratios deduced in the table. The influence of Pepin's 12 for 1 is seen in the coinages of our Alfred.

*Ratio of silver to 1 gold in the moneys of England from the eighth to the twelfth century.*

Period A.D.	Ratio.	Remarks.
650— 750	$6\frac{1}{2}$	East Indian, Eastern-Arabian, and Spanish-Arabian coins of seventh and eighth centuries.
725— 760	$6\frac{2}{3}$	Coins of Ethelbert II, king of Kent.
758— 796	$6\frac{1}{2}$	Coins of Offa, king of Mercia.
800— 836	6	Valuations of Egbert, king of Wessex.
852— 874	$6\frac{2}{3}$ @ $7\frac{1}{2}$	Coins of Burgred, king of Mercia.
874— 878	$7\frac{1}{2}$	First coin valuations of Alfred.
878— (?)	10	Second        „        „
(?) — 901	12	Third        „        „
925— 941	12	Valuations of Athelstan, son of Edward, elder.
978—1016	$10\frac{3}{4}$	„        Ethelred II, king of Wessex.
1016—1033	9	„        Canute.
1024—1066	8 @ 12	„        Edward Confessor.
1066—1087	12	„        William I.
1087—1100	12	„        William Rufus.

The Arabian ratio was adopted in England during the seventh century. It lasted without any substantial altera-

tion until the second valuation of Alfred—a period of about two hundred years, and this in spite of its great variance with the Roman ratio.<sup>1</sup>

*Arabian pre-eminence in the Metallurgical Arts.*—Except the Byzantines and Arabs, there were few or no moneyers in Europe during the seventh and eighth centuries who were able to reduce gold or silver to the uniform fineness requisite for the coinages of new and, as yet, untried mints and governments. Mr. Keary's assays of the early Norse scats fully prove this view with regard to English moneyers. The cutting of steel dies was another mechanical difficulty. To the Gothic mints of the dark ages it was substantially insuperable.

The earliest coinages of mediæval England are later than those of France. Dr. Ruding's flourish about the pontificate of pope Hadrian I, cannot weaken the assertion that, down to nearly the beginning of the seventh century, no Anglo-Saxon coins, other than the rude unlettered products of the early mints, were struck in England. The moslem occupation of Spain and southern France, so long as it lasted, put an end to the exercise of the coinage prerogative of the Byzantine emperors in those countries. The last triente struck by Roderic of Spain was coined under Byzantine authority, and this was followed, with scarcely any interval of time, by the bilingual coins of Mousa-ben-Nozier. The refining of the precious metals and the cutting of steel dies for the West now fell wholly into the hands of the Arabians, and, taking into account the Gothic aversion to the Byzantine hierarchy, it would be difficult to advance any valid proofs that the nearly pure mintages of pagan gold and silver, which appeared in England during the seventh and eighth centuries, could, under the circumstances, have been effected without the aid of Arabian artists and moneyers.

✓ *Practically Arabian Origin of Sterling.*—This term is

<sup>1</sup> For further information on Arabian ratio and coinages, consult "Money and Civilization."



now applied to distinguish coins, or bullion, of a standard fineness, or alliage, of metal, equal to that of certain sterling or easterling coins, or "sterlings" of the middle ages. This standard, afterwards called "old sterling," was 0.995 for gold and 0.925 for silver.<sup>1</sup>

There have been many explanations of the term sterling, none of which, however, are free from objection. There certainly existed during the eighth century an important traffic along the Gothic zone, which, bounded by the 50th and 60th parallels, extended from Mongolia to Britain, and found its chief emporia in Novgorod and Vinet, the eastern and western portals of Iestia.<sup>2</sup> The money chiefly employed in this trade, as we know from the vast quantities of it which have been dug up in modern days, was Arabian half-dirhems. This was the current money of Iestia, whose cities were all destroyed and whose records and monuments all perished under the proscriptions of Charlemagne and his successors. The earliest mention of Iesterling money which occurs in Western literature appears in the laws of the Ripuarian Franks. Hovenden, as cited in Hollingshed, attributes the term sterling (indicating a coin) to the reign of Osbright, the pagan king of Northumberland (A.D. 848-67).<sup>3</sup> It also occurs in the Alfred-Guthrum Treaty, still meaning a coin. It does not occur in Domesday book, where "libra arsa" and "arsura" are used to indicate the metallic fineness of money, and denarius to indicate the coin in common use, which, to the Arabians, was a half-dirhem, and to the Gothic races, as we are persuaded, was known as the iesterling or esterling. Ordericus Vitalis, an author born during the reign of William I, uses the expression, "XVlibr sterilensium," meaning, doubtless, £15 in silver pennies.<sup>4</sup> The word sterling, meaning a certain coin, crept into extant texts during

<sup>1</sup> Lowndes on Coins, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Von Strahlenberg.

<sup>3</sup> Chambers's Encyc.

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Pegge, in "Gent's. Mag.," 1756, p. 456.

the reigns of the Norman and Plantagenet kings, and in the dealings of the Christian Hansa of the thirteenth century. The origin of its present meaning is not entirely clear; but, as the degree of fineness indicated, is precisely that of the Arabian coins contemporaneous with the heptarchy, and was not that of any other coins (unless we go back to the Roman coins of the third century), it is all but certain that sterling meant, first the Arabian half-dirhem, and afterwards the Arabian standard for coins. The only people who struck such coins at this date were the Arabians, whether in Arabia, Africa, Spain, France, Persia, Parthia, or Scythia; and not only did they adopt a high standard for coins, they struck such immense quantities of them as to fill the channels of commerce, and render the standard well known and typical. Finally, they adhered to this standard for several centuries, and thus caused it to be depended upon and regarded as reliable, which, except as regards the besants of the sacred Empire, is more than can be said of any other coinages of the dark ages.

These marks of moslem influence upon the early monetary types of England are submitted to the indulgent criticism of archæologists. Before the discovery of these evidences it appeared strange to the author that, during a period when Arabian industry and commerce and Arabian art and literature dominated the Western world, no traces of moslem civilisation were to be found in England—a country always famous for its maritime proficiency and the intimate knowledge of other maritime States which such proficiency promoted. These evidences bring to the surface a link in the chain of English history, whose long subversion finds ample explanation in the circumstances of the age to which it relates, and whose recovery, like a guide through a labyrinth, may enable us in future to outline with more assurance the still obscure history of the heptarchical era.

Grafted upon the Gothic monetary system, described in

a previous chapter, the moslem coins and types produced a hybrid system, which differed from its predecessor chiefly in the weight and composition of the scat and in the number of scats to the ora, also in the weight of the latter. At first the Gothic-Arabian system embraced the following coins and scale of equivalents, but as time went on several of these were modified :

*Gothic-Arabian system (eighth century). Ratio,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  for 1.*

Coins.	Money.	Value in scats.
8 stycas (bronze) . . .	1 scat (silver) . . .	1
3 scats . . . . .	1 thrimsa . . . . .	3
5 scats . . . . .	1 ora (gold) . . . . .	5
4 oras . . . . .	1 mancus, or dinar . . .	20
8 oras . . . . .	1 double dinar (dobla) <sup>1</sup> .	40
20 oras . . . . .	1 mark of account . . .	100

Under the Salic law,<sup>2</sup> as it was remodelled by Clovis, the gold sou, solidus, or besant, then of 68 English grains weight, was valued in Gaul at 40 silver deniers (scats), then of 17 English grains each—a ratio of 10 for 1. This was a mean between the Roman and Gothic ratios.

The etymology of styca, scat, and thrimsa is uncertain. Lye derives styca from the Saxon sticce, but to this Ruding objects that the word sticce cannot express value distinct from magnitude ; and, again, why not sticce from styca, rather than styca from sticce ? It is much more likely to be derived from the oriental word for a cutting instrument. Sicca (Indian), sycee (Chinese), styca (Gothic), saiga (Frankish), siccal, or shekel (Chaldean

<sup>1</sup> Abd-el-Raman spent on the mosque of Cordova over 600,000 doblas, or "double pieces," of gold (Calcott's "Spain," i, p. 152.)

<sup>2</sup> The law of the Salian Franks (from the river Sala, Ies-sel, or Yessel) is believed to have been compiled after the Franks were established in the Netherlands. None of the extant compilations are of an earlier date than the seventh century. The original compilation was in Latin ; in the later copies there are some German words, those copies containing the most German words being the most recent of all (Wiarda, "Histoire et Explication de la loi Salique"). Upsala (Sweden) appears to be another form of Ober Ies-sel (Holland).

and Hebrew), *zicca* (Arabian), and *sequin* (Venetian) are evidently the same word and meant the same thing that is to say, an instrument or tool for clipping coins and, by metonym, a mint, a coin, etc. In fact, most of the coins of this period were finished with the shears. As the *thrimsa* was valued at three scats, its name was probably derived from the Latin *trium*. The etymology of *scat*, *scad*, or *shad*, has been already treated. During the dark ages the Roman imperial fisc in Gaul was obliged to accept its revenues and make its payments in rations. If the Romans were obliged to use rations for a measure of value there is nothing improbable in supposing that the Norsemen used herrings. *Ora*, or *aurar*, is obviously from the Latin equivalent for gold. The term is still employed in the monetary systems of Scandinavia. *Mancus* is from the Arabian *mancoush*, coined money, and this from the verb *macasha*, to strike. *Marcus*, *manenco*, etc., are corrupted synonyms.<sup>2</sup>

The *scat*, or properly half-dirhem, of this period was nearly of pure silver, thin and flat, but larger and heavier than the composite *scat* which preceded it. It contained  $21\frac{1}{2}$  grains, 0.925 to 0.960 fine. The term *scat* is, of course, a name given to these pieces by modern numismatists, by some of whom they are termed pennies but, for the various reasons herein adduced, these flat thin pieces must be regarded typically as half-dirhems, and of Arabian origin. Owing to their superior weight and uniform standard, these scats were now reckoned at five to the *ora* instead of eight, as their namesakes had previously been reckoned. The *thrimsa* (it was not long in use) was either a coin or money of account, valued at three scats, and therefore worth three-fifths of the *ora* of five scats, or three-fourths of the later *ora* of four scats.

The *ora* of this hybrid system was identical both in weight and fineness with the Arabian quarter-dinar. It

<sup>1</sup> Guizot, "Hist. Civ.," i, p. 351.

<sup>2</sup> Longperier, "Revista Num.," 1844, p. 292.



contained about  $16\frac{1}{4}$  grains of gold, 0·960 to 0·979 fine, or nearly 16 grains fine, and it so closely tallied in contents with the sicilicus, or gold skilling, as to pass, at least in the south of England, for the latter. It is called a scilling in the Christian chronicles, and at a later period it found its way by the same Roman name into the Norse sagas. “Olaf (1015–28) went southward across the sea from England and defeated the Vikings before Williamsby. He captured Gunnvaldsborg (in Seljopollar) and levied a ransom on it and the jarl of 12,000 gull skillingar.<sup>1</sup>

The gold mancus, or dinar, has been already described. That this coin circulated in the Norse kingdoms of England the frequency of its mention in documents of the seventh and eighth centuries leaves no room to doubt. The only Gothic-Arabian mancus extant is the unique coin of Offa, and this is stamped a “dinar.” Of the doblas, or double dinars, there are no English specimens extant, although there are plenty of Spanish-Arabian ones. The ratio of value between silver and gold in this system is indicated by dividing the fine contents of the ora (about 16 grains) into that of its legal equivalent of 5 scats, say  $10\frac{1}{4}$  grains, the quotient being  $6\frac{1}{2}$ . Whilst this was the ratio in both the Indian-Arabian, Spanish-Arabian, and Anglo-Arabian monetary systems of this era, it must not be forgotten that in the coinages of Byzantium the ratio was always 12; in other words, that the Christian valuation of gold (in silver) was nearly double that of the moslem.

Such are the moslem remains yet to be found in England—remains which, being traced upon monuments that the impassioned eyes of superstition failed to perceive, fortunately escaped its merciless proscriptions. To point out their significance and bearing upon English history is a task that belongs to the philosopher rather than the historian.

<sup>1</sup> Olaf's saga, c. 16.

## CHAPTER XI.

### MONEYS OF THE HEPTARCHY.

Summary of historical evidences furnished by the materials of this chapter—No coins of the Anglo-Saxons exist earlier than Ethelbert—Pagan gold coins—Gothic coins of Ethelred—Interpolations in ancient texts—Moslem coins of Offa the Goth—Rome-scat, or Peter's-pence—Egbert adopts the Roman system of £. s. d.—Danish invasions—Burgred is defeated and interned in a monastery—Guthrum is baptised and reigns as Athelstan II—Alfred of Wessex—Mingling of Gothic and Christian coins and denominations—Changes of ratio—Edward the Elder—Athelstan—Edmund I—Eadred—Leather moneys—Ethelred II—Danegeld—Canute the Dane—Harold the Dane—Edward Confessor—Harold II—Evidences derived from these researches.

THE monetary systems of the various Anglo-Saxon States were of such essentially different structure as to denote the existence of different governments and religions, some Gothic, others Roman, some pagan, others Christian. After the era of baugs these States employed oras, scats, and stycas, that is to say, native coins of gold, electrum, and bronze, all of somewhat irregular weights, bearing no marks of a common authority, and issued by pagan chieftains owning no superior or overlord. The tale relations were octonary, and the ratio of silver to gold was 8 for 1. At a later period some features of the Arabian monetary system were grafted on the Gothic: the mancus and half-dirhem—coins of sterling fineness and regular weights—were issued or circulated in the various States, the tale relations exhibit the influence of the Arabian decimal system, and the ratio was  $6\frac{1}{2}$  for 1.

When they successively adopted Christianity these States received their monetary systems from Rome. The

coins now used were besants (5 to the libra), shillings, and pence; the denominations were £. s. d.; the weights were accommodated to these tale relations, which, as between shillings and pence, were duodecimal; the ratio of silver to gold was duodecimal; and the coinage prerogative, as to gold, was exercised exclusively by the emperors of Rome, and granted by them to the English princes as to silver—practices that are held to denote both the feudal form of government and the Roman religion of the vassal States. Of these various features of money the abstention from the coinage of gold by the converted princes, and the marked difference between the Christian, Gothic, and moslem ratios between the value of gold and silver, are the most significant.

It will simplify the subject to observe: first, that with few exceptions, which will be noticed as we go along, the only English coins now extant of the heptarchical period are silver scats, half-dirhems, and pennies, all of which, being of somewhat similar weight, are usually, though erroneously, classed as pennies;<sup>1</sup> second, that as the Roman ratio was always 12 for 1, the denarii (of which 40 went to the Roman aureus, when the latter was struck 60 from the pound weight of standard gold) weighed  $26\frac{1}{4}$  grains gross; third, that the denarii (valued at 40 to the aureus, solidus, or besant, when the latter was struck 72 from the pound weight) weighed  $21\frac{1}{2}$  grains gross; fourth, that the denarii (when valued at 240 to the £., or 48 to the solidus) weighed about  $19\frac{1}{2}$  grains gross, or  $18\frac{1}{4}$  grains fine. There were also lower weights to the denarius, explained elsewhere. As this was the prevailing system of valuation in Christian States of the period answering to the heptarchy, it follows, fifth, that when any so-called denarii, or pennies, belonging to such period, and being in good condition, are

<sup>1</sup> There is nothing but historical inference to prove what these pieces were respectively called at the date of their issue.

found to contain more metal than is here indicated,<sup>1</sup> they were either struck under the Gothic or Gothic-Arabian systems, and were really silver scats, or half-dirhems, or else, if of Christian stamp, they were valued in the law, at the time of their issue, at more than a penny each—a practice concerning the prevalence of which we have the testimony both of Bishop Fleetwood and M. Guerard. It does not, however, follow from this rule that a scat, or half-dirhem, containing more silver than a penny was worth more than the latter, because, as Christianity and “pennies” gained ground, and paganism with scats and dirhems lost ground, the latter, even when heavier, were accorded a lower value in the law.

The earliest coin of the heptarchical kings now extant is a certain unique one stamped “Ethelbert,” containing about 20 grains of fine silver. Some writers ascribe this monument to Ethelbert I, but there is not sufficient evidence to warrant the inference. It is very much more likely to have been an issue of the second Ethelbert, king of Kent (748–60), replacing the composite scat, which by this time was disappearing in the refining crucibles of the Arabian moneyers. Mr. Keary prefers, indeed, to attribute it to Ethelbert, king of the East Angles, who died in 792 or 793, and, moreover, hints that its genuineness is not above suspicion. Of this class of coins twenty went at this period to the gold mancus, or solidus, of 60 grains fine, and five of them to the gold ora, or shilling—a ratio of silver to gold of  $6\frac{2}{3}$  to 1, thus  $20 \times 20 = 400 \div 60 = 6\frac{2}{3}$ . In some Anglo-Saxon coinages of this period the ratio was  $6\frac{1}{2}$  to 1, in others 6 to 1. In other words, gold in England was valued as in Asia and Arabia, that is to say, at half the price (in silver) at which it was maintained by the sacred empire of Rome. The adoption of the oriental ratio in England, though probably due directly to the influence of the Arabian

<sup>1</sup> In applying this rule some allowance must be made for the unskilfulness of early mints in striking coins of an uniform weight.



coinages of Spain, may also have been superinduced by the Gothic-Arabian trade of this period through Russia and the Baltic. Whatever the cause, the fact is believed to be indisputable, and as its acceptance solves many of the otherwise inexplicable problems of this period, it is commended to the careful consideration of the reader. Similar ratios of 6,  $6\frac{1}{2}$ , and  $6\frac{2}{3}$  for 1 will be found in the contemporaneous coinages and valuations of Spain and southern France.

Hawkins and Keary both intimate that during the reign of Ethelbert II, there was a silver penny of twelve to the shilling, and leave it to be inferred that there was either a silver shilling coin or a shilling of account employed in England at this period. A silver shilling coin is hardly worth discussing; there is none extant and there is no evidence that such a coin ever existed until the reign of Alfred, and even then it is by no means certain. At all previous dates the shilling, whenever embodied in a coin, was made of gold. With regard to a supposed silver "penny," of which twelve went to the shilling of account, this is an inference drawn from extant copies of the laws of Ethelbert, in which such denominations are mentioned. But as it is quite unlikely that two coins, namely, the scat and the penny, of nearly similar weight and contents, circulated in the same kingdom side by side, the one five, the other twelve, to the shilling, we must regard the latter as an anachronism introduced into copies of the law at a later period, when there were indeed twelve pence to the shilling. Ethelbert's laws are unique in being written in English, but the MS. is Anglo-Norman of the twelfth century, and the original laws have evidently been frequently altered.<sup>1</sup> Bishop Fleetwood has proved several anachronisms in the monetary terms employed in the earlier English texts of laws. The ratio of 9 silver to 1 gold, assumed by Keary for the coinages of Ethelbert's reign, rests upon this same

<sup>1</sup> Sir Francis Palgrave, i, p. 44.

literary and probably anachronical penny, and must stand or fall with it. It will probably be found difficult to overthrow the ratio of  $6\frac{2}{3}$  derived from the Anglo-Saxon valuation of 20 silver pence to the besant. Some of the other conclusions of Mr. Keary—for example, that the thrimsa was a tremissis, that the pound or livre of money always consisted of 240 pence, and that the mark weight was (in England) half a pound weight—will incidently receive consideration as we proceed.

The tax of Peter's-pence was first collected in England by the Roman pontificate from Ina of Wessex.<sup>1</sup> It is also alleged that after the conversion of Offa (about 790) it was levied upon that prince, who testified his submission to the pope by going to Rome in 793, and paying him homage in person; but this is doubtful. At this period Charlemagne was at the height of his power. France, Germany, Saxony, Hungary, Italy, and even a portion of Spain acknowledged his sovereignty. Pope Hadrian I. had vowed himself Charlemagne's liege subject and vassal, and governed in his name. If Offa acknowledged the suzerainty of the pope, it is not clear whether he intended to admit or ignore that of Charlemagne, the pope's political superior or suzerain. Egbert, a Christian king of Wessex (800–36),<sup>2</sup> had been for three years a soldier in the army of Charlemagne. He obtained his kingdom through the good offices of that emperor, to whom he swore fealty and did homage. When Charlemagne died (814), and the weak-minded Louis le Debonnaire was brought under the domination of the pontificate, the latter seems to have at once claimed Egbert as its vassal; but there are no evidences—at least not of that period—that the latter conceded this claim. The slender remains of Egbert's coinage system throw no certain light upon the question. The only coin of his reign

<sup>1</sup> For examples of Rome-scat, see Ruding, ii, pp. 205, 210, 212, 218, 230, 366, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Not Egbert, or Egfrid, son of Offa, who died in 796.

extant is the silver penny of fifteen grains fine. The mutilated texts of the period mention a shilling of five-pence and a pound of sixty shillings, both of which may be anachronical, and supplied by the copyists of the extant MS. If the shilling was an actual coin, it was probably the old *ora* of  $12\frac{1}{2}$ , worn down to  $11\frac{1}{6}$ , grains fine. At fivepence to the shilling, this would give the Arabian ratio of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  for 1—a result that would hardly tally with the Christian attitude ascribed to Egbert, for no Christian prince, except the Basileus, could lawfully coin gold, and he only coined it at 1 for 12 silver.

Following Offa on the Mercian throne were Egbert, his son (heterodox, died suddenly, 796), Coenwlf, or Kenulph (706–18), Kenelm, Coelwlf, Beornwlf, Ludica, Wiglaf (interned), Berthwlf, Burgred (interned), and Coelwlf, the last of the line. The church had employed excommunication, female influence, monastic internments, and other resources to reduce the Mercian and Northumbrian princes to submission, but without definite success. The Danish invasion served its ends better. London was taken in 851, York fell in 867, Guthrum, the East Anglian, was baptised in 878,<sup>1</sup> and both Mercia and stubborn Northumberland were at length brought beneath the dominion of Rome. From 831, when the seven kingdoms of England were merged into the three kingdoms of Wessex, Mercia, and Northumberland, until the date of the Alfred-Guthrum Treaty of 878, the intrigues of the pontificate and the military operations of the Danes were incessant. Gotfried, king of Denmark, having been poisoned in 819 and Harold installed in his place, the latter was baptised at the court of the conqueror, Louis le Debonnaire. Ridding himself of Regenfroy, his pagan rival for the throne, Harold made preparations to con-

<sup>1</sup> There are reasons for believing that Guthrum was a Christian before this time. In 875 he succeeded in dividing the Anglo-Danish army, of which a portion, under Halfdane, took possession of Northumberland and applied themselves to agriculture.

tinue on a large scale the war against the English kingdoms, which had been inaugurated a quarter of a century previously by Ragnar Lodbrok, under king Sigurd Snogoje. This circumstance, together with the suddenness of Harold's conversion, and the fact that his expedition was mysteriously directed from the south of England against the not yet converted kingdoms of the north, warrants the suspicion that papal intrigue was at the bottom of the entire project.

In 832 the Danish forces landed on the isle of Sheppey ; in the following year they overran the coasts of Dorset, and in 835 those of Cornwall. At this juncture died Egbert of Wessex, yielding the crown to his son, Ethelwolf, at that period a subdeacon of the cathedral at Winchester. In 844, at the Council of Winchester, upon the instigation of the bishop of Sherborn and the bishop of Wilton, and perhaps also influenced by the menaces of the Danish commander, Ethelwolf, as king of the West Saxons, made a donation to the church, by which he granted to it "the tenth part of the lands throughout our kingdom in perpetual liberty, that so such donation may remain unchangeable and freed from all royal service and from the service of all secular claims."<sup>1</sup> This embraced the Three Necessities—building bridges, fortifying and defending castles, and performing military service. So soon as this grant was duly executed the Danish forces disappeared.

A few years after this happy relief—that is to say, in 854—Ethelwolf went to Rome, where he did homage to the pope, and presented him with a crown of pure gold weighing four pounds, a sword adorned with pure gold, two golden images, two golden vessels, a service of plate, and a donation of gold to the clergy and of silver to the people of Rome. On his return from this pilgrimage, he married Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald, of France. In the following year (855) the bishop of Sher-

<sup>1</sup> "Anglia Sacra," i, p. 200.



born played Ethelbald, one of the king's sons, against the father, and won from the latter another donation to the church, which donation was to last—to quote its own terms—"as long as the Christian faith shall flourish in the English nation."

Bearing in mind the fact that a ratio of 12 for 1 during this period was always a mark of Roman government, an attentive examination of the table of ratios in a previous chapter will afford a tolerably correct indication of the dates when Roman domination was thoroughly re-established in the various provinces or kingdoms of Britain. However, the new domination, though practically the same, was not altogether identical with the ancient one: its appearance was changed, as though viewed through a defective glass. The ancient domination of Rome, so far as Britain is concerned, was in great measure a military one; the re-established domination was practically an ecclesiastical one. Both brought in their train the benefits of the ancient Roman civilisation and the ancient arts. This civilisation during its banishment had borrowed something, both from the anti-hierarchical spirit of the Norsemen and the scientific spirit of the Arabians. It bore a new aspect: it lacked the refinement of the old imperial civilisation, but it was fresher, healthier, and stronger. To the student and philosopher who contemplates the mediæval ages, the civilisation that accompanied Christian government must have appeared like the face of a friend whom ill-health had banished to remote climes, but who had returned after a long absence—his frame the same, his features bronzed, his gestures coarse, but his step vigorous, and his eye animated with a new and hopeful vitality. Such seems to have been the character of that Roman civilisation which, cleansed in the fire of Christianity, had returned to regain its wonted influence upon the Western world.

Resuming our consideration of the heptarchical monetary systems, the appearance of the extant coins and the

study of the valuations accorded to them in the texts, make it evident that Burgred struck silver coins of 15 grains fine, which were valued by Christians at one penny each, with five pennies to the shilling. This gives a ratio of 6 silver for 1 gold, but owing to the varying weights of Burgred's coins, the ratio was in fact more commonly  $6\frac{2}{3}$  to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  for 1.<sup>1</sup> In 874, after Burgred was driven from his throne by the Danes, he repaired to Rome, where he was quietly interned in the convent of St. Mary's,<sup>2</sup> from which, it is perhaps needless to say, he never emerged alive. We next turn to Guthrum, several of whose moneyers (like those of Offa and other Gothic kings of England) were Arabian. It does not appear whether these officers were retained or not after Guthrum's public avowal of Christianity. If his monetary system accorded with the valuations in his treaty with Alfred, it embraced the Saxon gull-skillling (now reduced to 10 grains), the Arabian gold mancus of 60 grains as the equivalent of 30 silver pennies (each of 15 grains), and the mark of gold (a money of account) as the equivalent of 30 Saxon shillings. The ratio was  $7\frac{1}{2}$  for 1.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Schmid's "Gesetze der Angelsachsen" the scale of monetary equivalents relating to this period is confused and defective. Comparing the anachronical money "pound" of sixty shillings, mentioned in the texts of Egbert's reign, with the contemporaneous money mark of thirty shillings, mentioned in those of Guthrum's reign, he deduces a money pound of two money marks. Whereas, in point of fact, whenever the mark and pound were contemporaneous and belonged to the same system, whether they were moneys of account or weights, the former was two-thirds of the latter.

<sup>2</sup> Henry, ii, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> An eminent English numismatist says of this period that the mancus was "one-thirtieth of the pound, or thirty pence." The mancus was, indeed, thirty pence, but there was no pound, and if there had been, it would not have been valued at 30, but at  $7\frac{1}{2}$  mancusses. The equivalent in silver coins was not 900, as our authority would argue, but 225 pence.

*Table of supposed moneys of Guthrum, afterwards Athelstan II.*

Moneys.	Contents, or value, in fine metal.	
	Gold, gr.	Silver, gr.
Penny, silver coin . . . . .	2	15
Saxon shilling, or ora, gold coin . . . . .	10	75
Quarter-mancus, gold coin . . . . .	15	112½
Mancus, gold coin . . . . .	60	450
Mark, money of account . . . . .	300	2,250

The monetary systems of Alfred of Wessex exhibit a curious mingling of Arabian, Gothic, and Roman influences. The standard of fineness and the old mancus coin were Arabian, the ora was Saxon, the £. s. d. system and the ratio of 12 silver to 1 gold, in his third system, was Roman. It will be remembered that after the immense benefice which Ethelwolf granted to the church of Rome, the Danes disappeared from Wessex. This manœuvre appears to have occasioned some dissatisfaction in Denmark, for we hear no more of Harold the Christian, who, in 850, was succeeded by Eric the pagan. Under this monarch preparations were made to conquer England for the Danes, and in 851 a fleet of 350 vessels landed an army on the Isle of Sheppey, which soon afterwards captured and plundered Canterbury and London. In 853 the Danes invaded Mercia, and upon the accession of Eric II, (pagan) in 854, they landed an expedition on the northern coast of Britain. In 858 Ethelwolf died, and Ethelbald, his eldest son, married Judith, his step-mother. This, and some other scandalous acts of the new prince, seem to have rendered the English nobles indifferent to the progress of the Danes, who (in 867) took York, and thus gained control of Northumbria. Two years afterwards the conquerors occupied the county of Fife, in Scotland; in 871 they defeated the Anglo-Saxons at Merton, in Surrey; in 875 they divided into two armies, led severally by Guthrum and Halfdane the Black; in 876-7, although previously repulsed at sea, they invaded Alfred's dominions by land, and before they were checked took

Wareham, Exeter, and Chippenham. In 878 Guthrum publicly accepted baptism, and made a treaty with Alfred, by which Britain was virtually divided between these princes. In 885 Alfred turned the River Lea, where a number of pagan Danish war-ships were lying, and compelled their abandonment. In the following year he occupied, rebuilt, and strengthened London. In 893 the famous viking, Hastings, with 300 ships, one of which was commanded by Rolla, seized Appledore and Melton-on-Thames. In 894 Alfred defeated Hastings' forces at Farnham, and captured that leader's wife and children. In 897 the pagan Danes were defeated at sea, near the Isle of Wight, and although their forces afterwards roamed through Mercia, and even invaded Wales, they gave for a time a wide berth to Alfred's dominions, and made no substantial progress in their conquest of England. However, a very considerable portion of the island was already in their hands, and, evident as was Alfred's desire to submit his kingdom in all respects to the ordinances of Rome, it can hardly be supposed that, so far as his monetary system is concerned, he could bring this at once into harmony with the Roman system, while the very different system of the Danes was employed so close to his frontiers.

In arranging the coins of Alfred, Mr. Hawkins says that "they seem to fall into four principal divisions, struck, apparently, at different periods of his reign."<sup>1</sup> This opinion is corroborated by a study of the tale relations of his different moneys, which cannot be harmonised without admitting at least three different coinage systems. The Arabian mancus was certainly in use, or else its value was well understood, down to a certain period of Alfred's reign, for the king himself, writing of his translation of the pastoral of Gregory, says: "I sent a copy to every bishop's seat in my kingdom, with an aestel, or handle,

<sup>1</sup> "Silver Coins of England," 2nd edition, p. 121.



worth 50 mancusses.”<sup>1</sup> The Guthrum Treaty and the writings of Ælfric the Grammarian both testify that the mancus at this period was valued at thirty pence. Dr. Ruding has deduced a silver mancus of about the year 838, but no silver mancus has been found, and its existence is doubtful. A silver coin, possibly a two-shilling piece of this reign, is mentioned farther on.<sup>2</sup>

Of the silver scats or pennies of this reign there are two sorts extant—one containing 19 to 20 grains, the other about 15 grains, of fine silver. The Alfred-Guthrum Treaty values the mark of account at thirty shillings; Ælfric the Grammarian valued the shilling at five pence. In another text<sup>3</sup> he says “they are twelve shillings of twelve pennies.” These last are regarded as coins and valuations which belonged to Alfred’s third system. Bearing in mind Mr. Hawkins’ opinion that the light pennies of Alfred were of his first coinage, his first monetary system, about 874–8 appears to have been precisely the same as that supposed above of Guthrum. The contents of 60 grains fine, accorded to the mancus, is a measure derived from the contemporary dinars of Abdel-Raman II, of Cordova.<sup>4</sup> There is a silver coin of Alfred, now in the British Museum,  $\frac{15}{16}$  of an inch in diameter, and weighing 162 grains gross, presumably containing about 150 grains fine—a measure which would exactly answer for that of a two-shilling piece in this

<sup>1</sup> Spelman, in Henry, vol. ii, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Both the mark and the ora are mentioned in the Edward-Guthrum Treaty of between 901–24 (Ruding, i, p. 314). Keary says that the ora is first mentioned in Guthrum’s Laws, vii, and is there valued at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  shillings. In the earliest Anglo-Saxon coinages and valuations, the ora and shilling, both gold coins, were of like weight and value. The shilling afterwards lost weight. The difference in the value of the ora probably arose when the shilling, no longer made of gold, was represented by a sum of silver pennies, the ora of gold still surviving and the ratio being changed to 12.

<sup>3</sup> His translation of Exodus xxi, 10.

<sup>4</sup> The dinars of Al-Mostain-Billah were of the same weight.

system. Humphreys and Hawkins regard it "more in the light of a medal than of a coin"—a convenient if not a convincing method of avoiding a practical contradiction of their theory of the ratio, the ratio being the significant and political feature of the whole matter.

*Alfred's Second System.*—This may be conveniently dated about the year 878. The principal features were the coinage of sterlings, containing about 20 grains fine silver, and an enhanced valuation of the foreign gold coins, in such sterlings. The Arabian mancus of 60 grains fine was still valued at 30 standard silver pennies, but as the latter were 5 grains heavier than the previous penny, this valuation makes a ratio between silver and gold of 10 for 1. The mark (money of account) of 5 mancuses was valued at 150 standard silver pennies.<sup>1</sup> The shilling was represented by 5 sterling pennies. If the "pound" was in use it consisted of 45 shillings, or 225 pence.

*Alfred's Third System.*—This must be dated some time between 878 and 901. Its principal features were the adoption of the modified Roman system of  $5 \times 48 = 240$  pence to the pound of account, and the definite relinquishment of gold coinage. This meant the eventual acceptance of the Byzantine gold coins and ratio of 12. By this time all gold coins, except old and greatly worn mancuses, had probably disappeared from circulation. Assuming that these mancuses (really zecchius) contained about 50 grains fine gold, the ratio was now 12, as follows:—5 standard pence = 1 shilling of account; 6 shillings of account = 1 mancus or zecchin; hence 600 grains of coined silver equalled in value 50 grains of coined gold, or 12 for 1.

<sup>1</sup> During the mediæval ages, the English mark of account is valued variously at 80, 100, 150, or 160 actual scots or pennies. It would seem that the mark of account was always two-thirds of the pound of account; it was also, from the analogy of weights, counted as eight oras of account, and from this it was also, though erroneously, reckoned at eight times the value of the gold coin ora. The ora of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  shillings has been mentioned in the text.

In the earlier portion of the reign of Athelstan III,<sup>1</sup> Christian king of Wessex (925-41) the Byzantine shilling was valued at 5 silver pence, in the latter portion it was altered to 4 pence.<sup>2</sup> This involved an alteration in the value of the Gothic thrimsa, which before was  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , and was now rated at 3 scats. It also involved a change from  $5 \times 48 = 240$  to  $4 \times 60 = 240$  pence to the £., while the mark of account was valued at 160, instead of 150 pence as before.<sup>3</sup> There can be little doubt that this adjustment was made by Athelstan. At this period the terms "mark" and "pound of account" were chiefly employed in the valuation of "retts," taxes, and fines, all of which went to the king. The adjustment, therefore, was in favour of the crown. The ordinary transactions of trade were conducted in pennies, or scats and stycas, and these were not affected by the changes mentioned. Guthrum had been the first English prince to assume on his coins the pretentious title of "King of England." Athelstan III. improved on this style by stamping his coins "Rex toticus Britanniae." It was after the battle of Brunanburg, when, flushed with triumph and backed by an overwhelming display of power, that he was most likely to have adopted this measure. In one of his edicts Athelstan orders that no coins except those struck or authorised by himself shall pass current in England, that none shall be struck except within the precincts of a town, and that no names, titles, nor effigies shall be placed upon the coins except those of himself. It is evident that coins were being struck by rival princes independent of his authority, and that the object of his edicts was to prevent

<sup>1</sup> There were three Athelstans or Æthelstans. The first was a son of Ethelwolf by his first wife. His father made him king of Kent, Sussex, and Essex, in the year 836 (Henry, ii, p. 65). The second was the converted Guthrum. The third was the son of Edward the Elder, and the victor at Brunanburg.

<sup>2</sup> Hawkins, pp. 268, 269.

<sup>3</sup> Fleetwood, p. 23.

the chieftains whom he claimed as vassals from striking coins in the name of such rival princes.

Because the extant texts of the period mention but few alterations in the value of coins and moneys of account, we are not at liberty to assume that no others occurred. On the contrary, from the appearance of the various coins, it is probable that many changes occurred, the only uncertainty about the matter being the precise date and manner of their occurrence. The weight of the penny, the proportion of alloy in this and other coins, the composition of the scat, the relation between penny and scat, the number of pennies and scats to the shilling, the number of scats to the mark, or pennies to the pound of account, and the ratio of value between silver and gold in the coins, were all altered. The kings of the heptarchy were no less ready to exercise the prerogative of "coining moneys and regulating the value thereof" than were the Romans before or the Normans after them. There were but few princes, from Offa to William I, who hesitated to avail themselves of some form of this financial resource.

A later monetary scale of Athelstan shows a further intrusion of the Roman system into the moneys of Northumbria and Mercia. It consisted of Roman *£. s. d.* in the numerical proportions of  $4 \times 60 = 240$  pence to the *£.*, and of the following Gothic coins and moneys of account:—8 stycas = 1 scat; 3 scats = 1 thrimsa; 7 thrimsas = 1 ora; 8 oras = 1 mark;  $1\frac{1}{2}$  marks = *£*1. The foregoing two classes of moneys were united by the following scale of equivalents:— $4\frac{1}{6}$  scats = 4 pennies, or 1 shilling; 160 pennies = 1 mark. Hence, 250 (exactly 252) Gothic scats, or 240 Christian pennies = 1 "pound" of account. Hence also, 20 pennies to the ora, "*Denar qui sunt XX in ora,*" as mentioned in Domesday Book, vol. i, fol. i. The styca of this reign was a small brass coin, the scat a small lumpish silver coin containing about 17 grains fine, the penny contained about 18 grains fine, or 22 grains alloyed,



the sterling, or half-dirhem, was slightly heavier than the penny. The ratio of fine silver to gold in the coins of Athelstan was 12 for 1.<sup>1</sup>

During the reign of Edmund I, king of Wessex (941–46), the silver pennies contained from  $16\frac{1}{3}$  to  $22\frac{1}{3}$  grains fine.<sup>2</sup> We are aware of no alterations in the valuation of money during the reign of Edred, king of Wessex. The reign of Edgar, king of Wessex, is marked by the issuance of leather moneys and an effort to unitise the numerous and heterogeneous coinages of England—an effort which proved futile. The sterlings of this prince contain 18 to 20 grains of fine silver, but we do not know at what valuations they passed. Many of these coins were surreptitiously reduced by clippers to half their weight. After executing a batch of these criminals, a new coinage was ordered, and it was probably to fill the void thus temporarily created in the circulation that the leather moneys were issued.

<sup>1</sup> The mark of silver was reduced to two gold mancuses, whereas previously it was worth five. This was mainly due to the rejection of the Arabian and adoption of the Byzantine valuation of gold, an act which lowered the value of silver to a moiety.

<sup>2</sup> Ruding, i, p. 292.

them weighed 19 lbs. 6 oz. 5 dwts. This is an average of 22 grains each, or (assuming the fineness as equal to sterling)  $20\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine; but as he says nothing of the remaining 573 pieces found at Tealby, it may be that the average of the whole corresponded with Keary's assays.

With regard to tin money of the nobles, mention of albata, or white money (*argentum blancum*) occurs in the Exchequer Rolls pertaining to the fourth year of this reign, where it is expressly distinguished from silver money (*argenti*). In the fifteenth year Walter Hose paid one shilling in the pound for the *blanco firmæ* of Treatham; in the seventeenth year twenty shillings were paid in *argento blanco*; in the twenty-third year Walter de Grimesby forfeited a lot of the same metal; in the twenty-sixth year the sheriffs of London and Middlesex paid in, from the effects of a coin clipper, £9 5s. 4d. in silver pennies and five marks in "white money." In order to determine the meaning of "white money," it is to be remarked that the term "*argento blanco examinato*" was used when silver bullion was meant. For example, in the thirtieth year of Henry II, the sheriff of Devonshire paid 8s. 9d. in bullion (*argento blanco examinato*), made up of divers old coins, and in the thirty-third year the same sheriff paid twenty-six pennies in bullion (*argento blanco examinato*), made up of numerous coins dug up from the earth. Sir Charles Freemantle was of opinion that the trial of the pix mentioned in the Lansdowne MS. related to this reign.<sup>1</sup> In this opinion the author finds himself unable to concur, but believes that it relates to the reign of Edward I. Some consideration of this subject will appear further on.

Turning from the monetary system of Henry to that of his successor, we find it marked by the same characteristics—a full legal-tender gold coinage issued by the Basileus, and constituting the basis of the system; a silver coinage (pennies) issued by the king, as nearly as practicable of

<sup>1</sup> British Mint Report, 1871, p. 12.

even weight with and exactly one-twelfth the value of the Byzantine *sicilicus* ; and a base coinage of local circulation, issued by the nobles and ecclesiastics, the gold coinage being never, the silver coinage rarely, and the base coinage frequently, altered.

Although there are no native coins extant of Richard I, the evidences that he exercised the usual coinage rights of provincial kings are so numerous as to leave little room to doubt the fact. In 1189, upon his accession to the throne, Richard weighed out more than 100,000 marks from his father's treasure at Salisbury ; in an ordinance of the same year moneyers at Winchester are mentioned ; in the same year he granted a local coinage-license to the bishop of Lichfield ; in 1190, while at Messina on a crusading expedition, he found it necessary to command and exhort his followers to accept his money—a tolerably sure indication of coinage ; and in 1191, Henry de Cornhill was charged in the exchequer accounts with £1,200 for supplying the cambium, or mints of England (except Winchester), and with £400 the profits of the cambium for a year. The names of Richard's moneyers in his mints at Warwick, Rochester, and Carlisle appear in several texts relating to his reign. Coins which were struck in Poitou under his authority are still extant. Finally, as will presently appear evident, he granted and revoked licenses to nobles and ecclesiastics to strike tin and other base coins. All these prerogatives were such as were common to provincial kings ; but Richard struck no gold, and made no attempt either to interdict the circulation of the Imperial coins or to alter the sacred valuation of gold and silver which was laid down in the constitution of the Empire.

With regard to his ransom, the inference of new coinage is totally wanting. In 1192 Richard was taken prisoner on the continent, and handed over to Henry VI, of Germany. In 1194 he was ransomed for about the same amount of money that he is said to have inherited from

pence went to the zecchin.<sup>1</sup> Regarding the penny as containing  $18\frac{1}{2}$  grains and the zecchin  $51\frac{1}{2}$  grains, this would imply a ratio of  $10\frac{3}{4}$  for 1.

There is little room to doubt that the middle term shilling was changed from forty-eight to sixty, and afterwards to twenty, to the pound of account. The first proportion rests upon the authority of Fleetwood (p. 23) and Anderson (i, p. 98), and the third upon Ælfric Grammaticus, the translation of Exodus xxi, 10, and the "Historia Eliensis." Both Guerard and De Vienne testify to the same practice at the same period in France. Shifting the middle term affords the best proof that the ora was now too valuable to pass for a shilling, and that the latter was merely a money of account, payable in silver pennies.

Canute, the Christian but anti-papal king of Denmark and England, has left us a greater variety of coin-types than any other English prince before the Plantagenet dynasty. His Gothic coins and valuations were 8 scats = 1 ora; 3 oras = 1 mancus; 5 mancuses = 1 mark of account. His Christian coins were valued in *£. s. d.* on the scale of  $5 \times 48 = 240$  pence to the *£*.<sup>2</sup> The pence vary in weight from 12 to 18, and the scats from 20 to 24 grains each, and are all about eleven-twelfths fine, the lighter weights, or the pennies, greatly predominating. The intervaluation between the two systems was 30 silver pence, each of 16 grains fine, equal to 1 "mancus," really a zecchin, of 50 to 54 grains, bespeaking a ratio of about 9 for 1. However, his Danish coinages render this ratio uncertain.

The accession of Edward Confessor marks the decline of Danish power and influence in England—an event long celebrated by the Catholic portion of the population in the religious festival of Hokeday. This prince's friendship for Normandy and his fealty to Rome manifested

<sup>1</sup> Ælfric the Grammarian.

<sup>2</sup> "Chron. Preciosum," p. 23.



itself in the appointment of Norman favourites to office, in the quarrel with Godwin, the incarceration of Edgitha, the welcome which he accorded to William of Normandy, and his removal of Godwin's hostages (his son Ulnoth and grand-nephew Haguin) to William's court. Although the quarrel with Godwin was patched up, the hostages remained in Normandy. After Godwin's death (in 1053), when his son Harold, now the head of the family, sought to recover these hostages, he was refused by William. Upon the death of Edward (in January, 1066), Harold usurped the throne, and until the fatal battle of Hastings reigned for a brief period as Harold II.

The following scale of equivalents will illustrate Edward's system of moneys:—Five light silver pennies containing variously from  $12\frac{1}{2}$  to  $18\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine = 1 shilling, and 48 shillings equal 1 pound of account; four heavy silver pence (scats), containing from 20 to 25, but for the most part about 20, grains fine = 1 shilling; and 60 shillings = 1 pound of account. The shilling of four pence appears to have survived that of five pence. Thus there were successively two classes of pounds, shillings, and pence, and it is not improbable that there were three, the third consisting of the factors  $12 \times 20 = 240$  pence to the £., and based on a degraded penny containing about  $8\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine silver. Edward's coins were of uneven and oft-changed weights, and owing to the disturbed state of the government, they were also of uncertain and fluctuating value. The gold besant of Constantinople was in circulation, and, according to Dr. Henry, was valued at eight shillings, each of five silver pence. During another portion of Edward's reign the besant was valued at nine shillings.<sup>1</sup>

There is some reason to suspect that about this time the payment of Danegeld by the people to the king's officers was made in the degraded coins above mentioned,

<sup>1</sup> Henry's "Hist. Brit.," ii, p. 275.

but the evidences are not sufficiently conclusive to entirely warrant the inference. However, the imposition of this tax was abolished by Edward, and it was not imposed again until the reign of William I. The Gothic moneys of Edward Confessor were valued as in Canute's reign. There is too much uncertainty about the weights and value of coins in this reign to make any reliable inferences concerning the relative valuation of gold and silver. The gross weight of an heretical zecchin ascribed to this reign, as given by Kenyon, is  $54\frac{1}{2}$  grains. The ratio may have been any figure between  $7\frac{1}{2}$  and 11 for 1. It was probably often changed.<sup>1</sup>

Harold II only reigned nine months, yet his coins are very numerous, nearly one hundred varieties of moneyers' names having been found upon them. It is quite probable that in the confusion of the times the chieftains and the prelates who supported Harold's pretensions to the crown took occasion to coin money for themselves, the profit upon such coinage varying from a twelfth to a tenth of the metal coined, sometimes more. Harold's silver scats weigh about 22 grains, and contain about 20 grains of fine silver. There is no reason to believe that he changed the previously existing system of £. s. d., nor that any of the coins previously in circulation—such as the Arabian zecchin, the besant and its fractions, or the Gothic stycas, scats, and oras—were decried or interdicted.

<sup>1</sup> For allusions to mint laws of Edward Confessor, see Kemble, pp. 67-9; for "Treasure Trove," see Ruding, i, p. 390.

## CHAPTER XII.

### SYSTEMS OF ANGLO-NORMAN MONEYS.

Norman, Anglo-Saxon, early Gothic, Moslem, Byzantine, and other coins circulating in England—Difference in the silver value of heretical and orthodox gold coins—Scats, sterlings, and pennies—Efforts of the Norman princes to escape the monetary supervision of Rome—Receipts and payments made in different moneys—Counterfeiting—Barter—Permutation—Fairs—Taxes and rents in kind—Bills of exchange—The monetary systems of the Norman princes exhibit a strange condition of political affairs.

**D**URING the Norman dynasty the coins in circulation consisted chiefly of five classes, namely: Norman, Anglo-Saxon, early Gothic, Byzantine, and Moslem.

*Norman Coins.*—These were “sterlings,” or flat, thin, silver coins of the half-dirhem type, containing about 20 grains of silver 0·925 fine, or about  $18\frac{1}{2}$  grains of fine silver. In modern numismatic works these are always called “pennies.” No less than twelve thousand of the “pax” sterlings of William I. were discovered at Beaworth, in Hampshire, in 1833, besides other large hoards elsewhere. Twelve of these sterlings went to the Norman shilling.

It has been assumed by numismatic writers that the sterlings were always valued at one penny each; but in face of a contrary practice in France at this period, where the sterling was sometimes rated at three halfpence, two pence, etc., and of the twopenny sterlings, and three-penny sterlings cited elsewhere in the present work, this is by no means certain.

*Anglo-Saxon Moneys.*—The best Anglo-Saxon silver sterlings (scats) were valued at four to the Saxon shilling

of account, while sixty Saxon shillings were counted to the pound of account. These relations were not disturbed by William, who continued to employ them in all payments under the Anglo-Saxon laws, or in reference to Anglo-Saxon rents and contracts. There were, therefore, two moneys of account employed during his reign, namely, the Norman  $12 \times 20 = 240$  pence to the pound of account, and the Saxon  $4 \times 60 = 240$  pence to the pound of account.

*Early Gothic Moneys.*—The ora is valued in Domesday Book at 20 pence, from which it would appear that Edward the Confessor's base pennies were meant, or else that William's sterlings actually went for twopence each. It has been suggested that the ora here meant was either the ora weight of 45 grains (one-eighth of the Gothic mark), or else a gold coin of about that weight, say the Moorish obolus de Murcia or maravedi,<sup>1</sup> because in 37 Henry III, (A.D. 1252), the maravedi of Moorish Spain was valued at 16 pence<sup>2</sup>—a fall in value which, if it related to a weight of gold bullion, would be difficult to account for, but which, if to an actual gold coin, might have been due to its having been reduced by abrasion or "rounding." But, in fact, at the period of Domesday Book, the maravedi was a new coin, therefore we regard the first hypothesis as more reasonable. The composite or electrum scat had disappeared; the silver scat is mentioned under the name of a penny. The brass stycas, so common during the Gothic era, do not appear to have remained in circulation during the Norman one, for no mention is made of them in extant texts. They were replaced by Roman bronze coins.

*Moslem Moneys.*—The Spanish-Arabian dinar (60 to 66 grains fine) and the zecchin (50 to 55 grains fine), circulated in England under the misnomers of besant and mancus. Norman sterlings of the half-dirhem

<sup>1</sup> The maravedi of this period weighed about 43 grains (nearly) fine.

<sup>2</sup> Ruding, i, p. 316.



or sterling type, and containing 18 to 20 grains fine silver, had taken the place of the half-dirhems coined in Arabian-Spain. Valued in these Norman sterlings, the dinar was worth 34 to 36 sterlings, and the zecchin 30 to 31 sterlings—a ratio of 9 or 10 for 1. The mark of 5 zecchins, afterwards of 5 maravedis, was valued at 160 sterlings. The other moslem coins which circulated in England during this period were the gold half-mithcal and a few of the old silver dirhems and half-dirhems.

*Byzantine Monies.*—These were the gold besants of 65 grains, valued at 40 sterlings—a ratio of 12 for 1.<sup>1</sup> The besant of this period was a thin and slightly “dished” gold coin, or “scyphus,” with a rayed image on one side. It was the direct descendant of the sacred aureus of Augustus and the sacred solidus of his successors, the sovereign-pontiffs or emperors of Rome.

*Other Monies.*—Besides these coins the circulating money of England included the silver coins of France, Venice, and other States. These were rated, by official proclamation, at something near their bullion value. Roman bronze coins of varied types and designs also circulated among the common people, and, according to Sir John Lubbock, they continue to circulate among them, in the remoter parts of England, to the present day.

The legal status, history, and tale value of bronze or copper coins, and an investigation of the authority under which they were struck, during the interval between the establishment of Christianity in the provinces and the fall of the Sacred Empire in the thirteenth century, is a domain of numismatics upon which so little certain light has hitherto been shed, that it would, perhaps, be unsafe to make it a basis for historical induction. There is strong reason to believe that the Roman Senate never parted with its authority to strike copper, and that during the dark and mediæval ages the Christian provinces were supplied with

<sup>1</sup> It results that the ratio for moslem or heretical gold was 9 or 10 silver, and for Byzantine or orthodox gold, 12 silver.

copper coins struck by moneyers appointed by the Senate, first of Rome and afterwards of Constantinople. It is certainly a remarkable fact, one well worthy the profoundest attention, that, except when at rare intervals they ventured to disregard the authority of the Empire, the Christian princes of England struck no copper coins until after the fall of Constantinople.

The Anglo-Norman kings coined no gold at all. The coinage of gold ceased when Christianity was introduced, and the last gold coins known to have been struck in England previous to the reign of Henry III, were the dinars of Offa, before his alleged submission to the yoke of the gospel.<sup>1</sup>

A good deal of learning has been spent upon that passage in the Black Book of the Exchequer (ascribed to William of Tilbury, in the reign of Henry II), which states that a custom was introduced by William I, of requiring payments into the treasury to be made *ad scalam* (by weight). Lowndes treats this custom as general, and ascribes it to the universal prevalence of clipped and counterfeit coins; but this explanation, in view of the valuations based on the Byzantine ratio, and in view of the large hoards of full-weighted sterlings which have been found in modern days, is not satisfactory. Madox—who if less concise, is more practical—assures us that coins were received in the exchequer by deducting sixpence from each twenty shillings; for light coins: this was payment *ad scalam*. When the coins were unusually light they were only received as standard bullion: this was payment *ad pensum*. When their purity was in question they were received as crude bullion and sent to the refiners and assayers: this was payment by *combustion*. In brief, this means that payments into the exchequer, when made in light or debased coins, were, as nearly as

<sup>1</sup> Two or three heretical exceptions to this rule have been already mentioned.

possible, subjected to precisely the same regulations that they are to-day.

There is no reason for supposing that the phrase of "payments into the treasury" meant anything more or less than what it literally conveys. Notwithstanding the theory of Lowndes, it may be asserted with confidence that it did not include other payments, such as payments out of the treasury, nor payments between merchants, nor between merchants and nobles. For all these classes of payments the king, at times, assumed the right to prescribe different sorts of moneys—a right which he invariably relinquished when admonished by the sacred college that he was exceeding his powers.<sup>1</sup> In view of this tendency of the crown it would be absurd to suppose that when clipped or counterfeit coins were received at the treasury by weight, they were re-coined or paid out by weight. Nothing of the sort. The revenues came from comparatively few sources, whilst payments were made to a vast number of people; and payment by weight would have been simply impracticable. On the other hand, if the clipped and counterfeit coins received into the treasury had been re-coined, it would have taken but a comparatively short time to reform the entire currency; but no such reformation appears to have been undertaken. The fact is that the crown practically legitimatised clipped and counterfeit coins, not by receiving them into the treasury *ad scalam*, but by paying them out of the treasury *ad numero*. Some of the numismatists have patriotically paraded one custom, and carefully suppressed the other; but the evidences of its practice appear plainly enough in the course of this work to satisfy the ordinary demands of reason. The power that scrupled not to receive and pay by different weights, would scarcely have hesitated to receive and pay with different coins, and it may be confidently believed that this was the practice.

<sup>1</sup> This practice (elsewhere) is alluded to and condemned in the Koran.

them weighed 19 lbs. 6 oz. 5 dwts. This is an average of 22 grains each, or (assuming the fineness as equal to sterling)  $20\frac{1}{3}$  grains fine; but as he says nothing of the remaining 573 pieces found at Tealby, it may be that the average of the whole corresponded with Keary's assays.

With regard to tin money of the nobles, mention of albata, or white money (*argentum blancum*) occurs in the Exchequer Rolls pertaining to the fourth year of this reign, where it is expressly distinguished from silver money (*argenti*). In the fifteenth year Walter Hose paid one shilling in the pound for the *blanco firmæ* of Treatham; in the seventeenth year twenty shillings were paid in *argento blanco*; in the twenty-third year Walter de Grimesby forfeited a lot of the same metal; in the twenty-sixth year the sheriffs of London and Middlesex paid in, from the effects of a coin clipper, £9 5s. 4d. in silver pennies and five marks in "white money." In order to determine the meaning of "white money," it is to be remarked that the term "*argento blanco examinato*" was used when silver bullion was meant. For example, in the thirtieth year of Henry II, the sheriff of Devonshire paid 8s. 9d. in bullion (*argento blanco examinato*), made up of divers old coins, and in the thirty-third year the same sheriff paid twenty-six pennies in bullion (*argento blanco examinato*), made up of numerous coins dug up from the earth. Sir Charles Freemantle was of opinion that the trial of the pix mentioned in the Lansdowne MS. related to this reign.<sup>1</sup> In this opinion the author finds himself unable to concur, but believes that it relates to the reign of Edward I. Some consideration of this subject will appear further on.

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<sup>1</sup> British Mint Report, 1871, p. 12.



even weight with and exactly one-twelfth the value of the Byzantine *sicilicus* ; and a base coinage of local circulation, issued by the nobles and ecclesiastics, the gold coinage being never, the silver coinage rarely, and the base coinage frequently, altered.

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Sir Mathew Hale ("Sheriffs' Accounts") proves that during the Norman era farms were let variously upon a money rent (*numero*) or a bullion rent (*blanc*), but that in both cases the actual payments were made in kind. Even the payments into the exchequer—which Madox would lead us to infer were always made in silver *ad scalum*, *ad pensum*, or by *combustion*—were often made with goats and pigs. Lord Liverpool's researches led him to the same conclusion. He says (chapter x) that in the reigns of William I, and William II, and during a great part of the reign of Henry I, the king's rents, arising from his demesnes (which formed at that time an important part of the royal revenue) though reserved in money, were really answered in cattle, corn, and other provisions, because money was then scarce among the people.<sup>1</sup> The rents of private landholders continued to be paid in kind down to a still later period. The best evidence with respect to this matter is given by the writer of the Black Book, or Liber Niger Scaccarii, cited elsewhere, who avers that he had conversed with men who saw the rents brought in kind to the king's court.

Such are the monetary monuments, and such were the monetary systems, of the Anglo-Norman kings. That attempts were made to harmonise the diverse materials of which they were composed—Roman, early Gothic, Moslem, Anglo-Saxon, Carlovingian, and Byzantine—is proved by the intervaluations of Domesday Book, and the gradual suppression and disappearance of some of these materials, chiefly the early Gothic and Moslem; but it is equally evident that the attempt was only partially successful, and that there yet remained—as, for example, in the mark and pound—an incongruous medley of pagan and Christian denominations, and in the divided authority to coin—for example—to the Basileus gold, and

<sup>1</sup> However, they were commuted for money by Henry I. (And. "Com." i, pp. 248-55). This was probably after his various coinages had rendered money sufficiently plentiful.



to the kings, nobles, and prelates silver (upon conditions)—another medley, which faithfully reflected the general confusion of a period, whose history was one of personal wars, personal combats, and personal displays of heroism, chivalry, or religious devotion. Cœur de Lion is its false ideal; Froissart was its true historian; and all attempts to deduce from such materials an independent national existence or policy for France, England, Germany, or Spain during this early period have been both unsuccessful and misleading.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### EARLY PLANTAGENET MONEYS.

Purity of the coinage before the fall of Constantinople—Corrupt state afterwards—The change was due to the destruction of the sacerdotal authority, the disappearance of the sacred besant, and the assumption of certain regalian rights by the kings of England—Whilst contracts could be made in gold besants, there was no profit in tampering with the silver coinage—Afterwards it became one of the commonest resources of royal finance—Coinage systems of Henry II—Richard I—John—Henry III—Edward I.

THE evidences which will be brought together in this chapter may be conveniently formulated as follows:—Previous to the fall of Constantinople there were but few tamperings with the English coinage, afterwards such tamperings became numerous and continual—a proof that some event had occurred meanwhile to render them practicable and profitable, such event having been, in fact, the acquisition by the king of the coinage rights which the Basileus had lost. Previous to the fall of Constantinople no king of England had ventured to strike a gold coin, whereas soon after that event, and following the example of other princes of the West, a gold coin was struck by Henry III; and although this coin was recalled and melted down, it was followed by another one struck by Edward III. The issuance of this coin, the gold noble, or half-mark, is regarded as the definite declaration of England's independence.

Reference to other portions of this work must convince the reader that from William I to Henry II—an interval of nearly a century—the coins issued by the kings of England were substantially free from degradation and

debasement. In other words, the Norman kings rarely tampered with the coinage. The coins were all of one class—silver pennies, sometimes including half-pennies, but usually pennies only. These did not constitute the only money in circulation, but the only money issued by the king. In addition to the silver pennies, there were coins issued by the nobles and ecclesiastics, commonly base silver coins, of local course and circulation, and the gold coins of the Basileus, valued by the Basileus always at one for twelve weights of silver, and made and accepted as legal tender for any sum in all parts of the kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Other foreign coins had only a permissive circulation, at valuations announced from time to time by the king; the gold coins of Constantinople constituted the backbone of the circulation, and kept the rest of it straight. So long as contracts could lawfully be made in these coins, the king could make no profit by tampering with the silver pennies; accordingly he struck the latter, as nearly as he could, to contain exactly the same quantity of fine metal as the gold shilling, or quarter-besant, of the Empire. As previously shown, the besant contained about 73, afterwards 65, grains fine. The gold shilling, therefore, contained  $18\frac{1}{4}$ , afterwards  $16\frac{1}{4}$ , grains fine; and this was exactly the contents of silver in the two classes of silver pennies of the heptarchy and of the Norman kings; twelve such pennies being valued at a shilling and forty-eight at a besant.

With the reign of Henry II, (Plantagenet) commenced those tamperings with money which announced the advent of independent sovereign power in England, and presaged the extinction of imperial control. Plantagenet inherited from his mother the States of Normandy and Maine, and from his father Touraine and Anjou, from his wife Eleanor, who had been divorced from Louis VII, he received Poitou, Saintonge, Angumois, and Aquitaine; in

<sup>1</sup> The subject of Roman copper coins during the mediæval period is alluded to in the last chapter.

a word, he became possessed of the entire western half of France from the Channel to the Pyrenees. After adding these domains to the crown of England, he acquired Northumberland by treaty with the king of Scotland. Ireland he acquired by a grant from Pope Hadrian IV, in 1154. The productions and trade of these extensive domains, together with his share of that additional trade and wealth, which, in common with other Christian princes, the king of England derived from the suppression and spoliation of the Spanish-Arabian empire, are indicated to some extent by the vastly increased revenues of crown and mitre, the splendour of the court and the number and wealth of the churches. To this period belongs some of the finest specimens of ecclesiastical architecture yet existing in England. Yet the monetary monuments are still those of a vassal and feudal State. An important part of the coinage was struck, valued and made part of the circulation by one foreign prince (the Basileus), whilst an important part of the revenues were collected and enjoyed by another (the pope). The influx of besants, the efflux of Peter's-pence, the defiant issues of baronial and ecclesiastical mints, which included leather and tin coins, all betray the impotency of the king to preserve the national measure of value from degradation and derangement.

Of old sterlings there were probably few or none in circulation when Henry II. came to the throne ; whilst of the base and adulterated coins issued by the robbers and forgers, who flourished during the weak reign of Stephen, there were many. Among Henry's early cares was the suppression of these moneys and the issuance in their place of a new coinage (about the year 1156). This coinage in violation of the king's commands was made below the standard—a fault for which he severely punished the moneyers.

About the year 1180<sup>1</sup> Henry II. sent to Tours for Philip

<sup>1</sup> "The Norman Chronicle" states that the new sterling money was struck in 1175 (Madox, i, p. 278).



Aymary, a French moneyer, and committed to his charge the striking of a new stamp of sterlings. These were issued, and the previous sterlings retired. After executing this work, Aymary was himself charged with fraud, and dismissed to his own country, yet the appearance of the coins supposed to have been minted under his superintendence, great numbers of which are extant, afford no support to this accusation. The pieces are indeed badly executed, and may thus have formed a ready temptation to rounders and clippers; the weights are also irregular. Perhaps it was on these accounts that the foreign artist was so summarily treated.

The rates of exchange established by the mint between the new sterlings and the old ones—whether the base ones of 1156, or the rounded and clipped ones, is uncertain—prove that the latter were inferior in value to the former by about 10 per cent.; at all events, this rate probably marks the degree to which clipping extended at this period. For £375 3s. 9d. of old clipped money the mint paid £343 15s. 6d. of new; for £100 old, £89 6s. 8d. new; for £100 old, £83 6s. 8d. new, and so on.<sup>1</sup> This *nova moneta* is known to numismatists as “short-cross pennies,” and these became so popular that they continued to be struck in the name of “Henri” until the middle of the reign of Henry III (1247), although the reigns of Richard I, and John Lackland intervened. This, however, does not necessarily imply that Richard and John struck such coins. The extant coins of Henry belong solely to the last issue. A hoard of these coins was found at Royston in 1721. Other pieces, to the number of 5700, were found at Tealby, in Lincolnshire, in 1807. They were as fresh as when they left the mint. According to Keary, the fineness is 0·925, and the contents in fine silver of the most perfect specimens,  $18\frac{1}{4}$  grains. Dr. Ruding’s valuable but antiquated work gives what seems to be a wholly different account. He says that 5127 of

<sup>1</sup> Madox, i, p. 278.

them weighed 19 lbs. 6 oz. 5 dwts. This is an average of 22 grains each, or (assuming the fineness as equal to sterling)  $20\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine; but as he says nothing of the remaining 573 pieces found at Tealby, it may be that the average of the whole corresponded with Keary's assays.

With regard to tin money of the nobles, mention of albata, or white money (*argentum blancum*) occurs in the Exchequer Rolls pertaining to the fourth year of this reign, where it is expressly distinguished from silver money (*argenti*). In the fifteenth year Walter Hose paid one shilling in the pound for the *blanco firmæ* of Treatham; in the seventeenth year twenty shillings were paid in *argento blanco*; in the twenty-third year Walter de Grimesby forfeited a lot of the same metal; in the twenty-sixth year the sheriffs of London and Middlesex paid in, from the effects of a coin clipper, £9 5s. 4d. in silver pennies and five marks in "white money." In order to determine the meaning of "white money," it is to be remarked that the term "*argento blanco examinato*" was used when silver bullion was meant. For example, in the thirtieth year of Henry II, the sheriff of Devonshire paid 8s. 9d. in bullion (*argento blanco examinato*), made up of divers old coins, and in the thirty-third year the same sheriff paid twenty-six pennies in bullion (*argento blanco examinato*), made up of numerous coins dug up from the earth. Sir Charles Freemantle was of opinion that the trial of the pix mentioned in the Lansdowne MS. related to this reign.<sup>1</sup> In this opinion the author finds himself unable to concur, but believes that it relates to the reign of Edward I. Some consideration of this subject will appear further on.

Turning from the monetary system of Henry to that of his successor, we find it marked by the same characteristics.—a full legal-tender gold coinage issued by the Basileus, and constituting the basis of the system; a silver coinage (pennies) issued by the king, as nearly as practicable of

<sup>1</sup> British Mint Report, 1871, p. 12.

even weight with and exactly one-twelfth the value of the Byzantine *sicilicus* ; and a base coinage of local circulation, issued by the nobles and ecclesiastics, the gold coinage being never, the silver coinage rarely, and the base coinage frequently, altered.

Although there are no native coins extant of Richard I, the evidences that he exercised the usual coinage rights of provincial kings are so numerous as to leave little room to doubt the fact. In 1189, upon his accession to the throne, Richard weighed out more than 100,000 marks from his father's treasure at Salisbury ; in an ordinance of the same year moneyers at Winchester are mentioned ; in the same year he granted a local coinage-license to the bishop of Lichfield ; in 1190, while at Messina on a crusading expedition, he found it necessary to command and exhort his followers to accept his money—a tolerably sure indication of coinage ; and in 1191, Henry de Cornhill was charged in the exchequer accounts with £1,200 for supplying the cambium, or mints of England (except Winchester), and with £400 the profits of the cambium for a year. The names of Richard's moneyers in his mints at Warwick, Rochester, and Carlisle appear in several texts relating to his reign. Coins which were struck in Poitou under his authority are still extant. Finally, as will presently appear evident, he granted and revoked licenses to nobles and ecclesiastics to strike tin and other base coins. All these prerogatives were such as were common to provincial kings ; but Richard struck no gold, and made no attempt either to interdict the circulation of the Imperial coins or to alter the sacred valuation of gold and silver which was laid down in the constitution of the Empire.

With regard to his ransom, the inference of new coinage is totally wanting. In 1192 Richard was taken prisoner on the continent, and handed over to Henry VI, of Germany. In 1194 he was ransomed for about the same amount of money that he is said to have inherited from

his father. This ransom was collected in England and from the possessions of the English crown in France. From the particulars of its collection—to be found in the pages of Madox—it appears to have been contributed in coins. Caxton says that plate “was molten and made into money.” Stowe makes a similar statement. Altogether ten ancient texts agree in stating that the ransom was paid in money, and that the same was answered in “marks weight of Cologne,” which latter was natural, that being the standard of weight with which the emperor was most familiar. Notwithstanding this testimony, it may be safely conjectured that there was no new coinage, for such an operation would have been needless, tedious, and expensive. The old coin and bullion was probably melted down, refined, cast into bars, assayed, weighed, and delivered to the emperor’s legate—a supposition that precisely agrees with Polydore Vergil’s account of the affair.

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The albata money of Richard's time was either a composition of tin and silver—a good deal of tin and very little silver—or else merely tin coins blanché with silver. The clippers, whose chattels were confiscated to the exchequer by Henry de Casteillon, must have practised their art upon the royal coins, for there could have been but small profit from exercising it upon those of the nobles.

Although, immediately after the payment of his ransom, Richard decried all other coins but his own, his edict became a dead letter; indeed, he was probably glad enough to see the base coins remain in circulation. The population of England and Plantagenet France during the reign of Richard I, was probably not over four or five millions, and the total money not over as many shillings, or, say, £250,000. Richard's ransom therefore stripped the kingdom of probably one-third or one-fourth of its measure of value, and but for the album money of his nobles, this circumstance might have brought on far greater calamities than the release of the king was expected to avert.

The main defect of the tin coins was not the low cost of the material of which they were composed. The gold and silver obtained from the spoliation of the moslem and the Jews were cheaper than tin, for they cost nothing to produce beyond the labour of cutting so many pagan and infidel throats, whilst tin ore had to be discovered, excavated, and reduced to metal. But there was no world-wide demand and no world's stock in hand to enhance and steady the value of tin, whilst as to gold and silver there was; and this is chiefly what has always rendered these metals preferable for coins. Tin coins were also easily counterfeited, the material was exposed to rapid oxidation, and the condition of society and govern-  
 "to Rupin," i, p. 258); Leake ("Historical Account of English Money," p. 58); Nicholson ("Eng. History," lib. i, p. 254); and the modern special writers on tin and base coins.

ment was wholly unfitted for the use of coins of any material which could not conveniently and without substantial loss be buried in the earth, or otherwise hoarded for use in future and safer times.

There are no English coins extant of John. It is stated<sup>1</sup> that this king sent for certain Easterling artists to refine his silver coins. These may have been the coins he struck in Ireland, as lord paramount of that country, specimens of which still remain. On the other hand, they may have been English sterlings, of which no specimens have yet been found.<sup>2</sup> John lost most of his French possessions to Philip II, and thus, almost at the outset of his career, gained the name of Lackland. His return to England was marked by the imposition of fines and aids, which, because they extended to the monasteries, earned for him the curses of the archbishop of York and a defamation of character which extends to the present time. This being probably in great measure unjust,<sup>3</sup> should enjoin caution in weighing the events of his reign. Camden ascribes to this period the leather money attributed to John, but though belonging to his reign, it may have been issued by his vassals; at all events it wholly failed to secure public appreciation. In 1205 John publicly decried all coins which were clipped more than an eighth; severely denounced and threatened all clippers, particularly the Jews, whom he affected to believe were the chief offenders; forbade the re-blanching of old pennies, which could have been none other than the tin coins of his nobles; and fixed the rate for exchanging "fine and pure silver at the king's exchanges of England, and at the archbishop's exchange of Canterbury, at sixpence in the pound." This could not have meant the exchange of new coins for

<sup>1</sup> Anderson's "History Commerce," i, p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> The "Encyc. Brit.," art. "Coin," states that since Richard I, all coining has been confined to the Tower of London and the provincial mint of Winchester. This is a double error. Sir Mathew Hale's account of this matter is the correct one.

<sup>3</sup> Anderson's "History Commerce," i, p. 193.

old ones by tale, because the latter were much worn and clipped. It probably meant the exchange of new coins, weight for weight, for old ones.

More important, however, than the king's coins were those of the Basileus. The form used in expressing large sums of money proves the still common use of gold besants and Byzantine trientes and shillings. For example, in the previous reign, where £100 of old coins are bought for £83 6s. 8d. of new, the sum is thus written in the Great Roll of the Exchequer: "quartor XX l & lXVj, s. & Viij d." meaning four score libras, sixty-six solidi, and eight denarii. The former were evidently composed of actual besants and thirds, and quarter-besants. In the Magna Charta of this reign (Art. 2), where "centum solidus" is mentioned as the price of a knight's relief (a sort of succession duty), it is usually translated as "one hundred shillings." Were these shillings merely moneys of account, as is commonly held, it would be difficult to explain why they were not expressed in "libras" or pounds of account, like the sums which precede them in the same text. They were evidently actual quarter-besants, or shillings, and, therefore, belonged to the gold issues of the Basileus. The vassalian coinage of tin, which characterised the preceding reigns of Plantagenets, appears to have been also permitted by John, for in the thirteenth year of his reign (1211), William de Wroteham paid into the Exchequer £543 5s. 0d., and in the following year (1212) £663 12s. 9d., for the money which he was permitted to strike from the tin of Cornwall and Devon.<sup>1</sup> The meaning here given to this record finds corroboration in the allowance of one-eighth for clipped coins contained in the decree of 1205, which would have been excessive and impracticable in relation to sterling silver, but which, when applied to tin or albata coins, was reasonable.

<sup>1</sup> "Provenientibus de Stanno Cornubiæ et Devonix" (Madox, ii, p. 132).



Two years after John had taken his humiliating oath of vassalage to the pope he revolted from his servitude, and in the Great Charter which he sealed at Runnymede, June 15, 1215, he assumed powers which only belong to an independent monarch. With the fickleness that marked his entire career, he violated this charter in the following August, and in September it was formally annulled by his master, the pope. Soon after this John was poisoned to death. He was a weak prince, but brief though his reign and irresolute his purpose, he earned the glory of executing an instrument which has served as the model of every Bill of Rights won by Anglo-Saxons from that day to the present. Though disclaimed by John and denounced by the pope, Magna Charta was not dead, but lived on, and both in its inception and repeated confirmation it marks the slow and toilsome steps by which our race has won from hierarch, king, and noble its present inestimable liberties.

The only silver coins of the reign of Henry III. now extant are the sterlings struck in 1248, originally of the usual weight and fineness, but for the most part much worn, rounded, and clipped. In addition to these issues, certain base coins were in circulation, which are reputed to have been of foreign fabrication; but which are more likely to have been struck by or for English nobles and ecclesiastics. Some of these were probably coined in the abbey of St. Albans. When complaint was made of them, the transgressors were permitted to avail themselves of a technical defence, and so escaped punishment.<sup>1</sup> Herne states that he had one of these base coins in his possession, and describes its composition.<sup>2</sup>

The presence of tin money, also struck by the nobles and ecclesiastics, is evinced by several contemporaneous references which point to the use of that metal for coinage.

<sup>1</sup> Madox, i, p. 759, note x.

<sup>2</sup> W. Henningford, preface, p. xlv, cited in Ruding, ii, p. 74.

The following passage from Matthew Paris (sub anno 1247) is an example :—

“As the money was now adulterated and falsified beyond measure, the king began to deliberate on some remedy for this, namely, whether the coins could not be advantageously altered in form or metal ; but it seemed to many wise persons that it would be more advantageous to change the metal than to alter the shape, since it was for the sake of the metal, not the shape, that the money was subject to such corruption and injury.” As a matter of fact, however, the king did not change either the metal or the shape.

In the 30th Henry III, the sheriff of Devonshire paid into the exchequer 25s. 1d., the profits of his contract for mining the black metal (*nigra minera*), which we take to be tin, that being its usual colour in the ore (oxide). He also accounts for 79s. received from the sale of dealbanda and tin. Dealbanda seems to have been a composition of tin, like album or albata. He also accounts for £6 13s. 8d., profit upon an issue of small coins, and of £54 15s. 3d. upon an issue of large coins (*de exita majoris cunei*), both of which were evidently of tin, and were emitted by some local magnate. The comparatively small profit thus derived by the crown from the issue of tin coins in one of the principal tin-mining districts of England, implies a dwindling of this coinage. It is true that we have no accounts from Cornwall, and none from the mints, of tin coined during this reign, so that quantitative conclusions drawn from this single entry are apt to be misleading.

Although, as is shown in another chapter, this reign is marked by the issue of a native gold coin—the first one ever struck by a Christian king of England—the issue was almost immediately retired, and matters remained apparently as before ; so that the besants of the sacred mint continued to form the basis of the English monetary system. But though in shrinking from the coinage of gold the king was afraid to definitively repudiate the suzerainty of the

sacred Empire, the nobles and the burghers were not. The General Council of 1247 resolved to lower the standard of royal silver coins—an act which by itself is almost sufficient to mark the fall of the sacred Empire, and the declining authority of Rome.<sup>1</sup> Corrupt coins made their appearance in all directions—counterfeit coins at St. Albans; tin coins in Cornwall and Devon; base and clipped coins everywhere.<sup>2</sup> It is now evident that at this juncture the besant began to disappear from circulation, and that its agency in regulating the English monetary system was sensibly diminished; but in the era of the Plantagenets no such explanation offered itself. In that age the solution of all monetary problems was found in torturing the Jews. Henry had resorted to this measure before the decision of the General Council.<sup>3</sup> He now resorted to it again. It was a pretty theory, a furtive belief in whose efficacy is not yet wholly effaced from the minds of men; but it did not work. With the second persecution of the Jews, the besants became still scarcer, and as, for lack of besants, contracts could no longer be discharged with them, the use of other coins was rendered unavoidable, and the multiplication of base or over-valued ones was thus encouraged. One of the last contracts in which the consideration is specifically expressed in besants is still extant. It is a Hebrew bond and mortgage executed during the reign of Henry III, a complete English translation of which, by Dr. Samuel Pegge, the antiquarian, appeared in the "*Gentleman's Magazine*," 1756, p. 465. The besants are therein called Iaku of gold, in allusion to the rayed figure which is stamped upon them, Iaku being the Hebrew form of the Greek Iacchus, and Roman Bacchus.

The division of the pound of account into twenty parts, and each of these into twelve, was in this

<sup>1</sup> The profits of this coinage are shown in Ruding, ii, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Ruding, ii, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> The second massacre of the Jews was in 1264.

reign extended to the pound weight, used for the assize of bread. Still more strangely it was imitated in the subdivisions of the agrarian acre. By the Act 51 Henry III, (1266) it was provided, among other things, that "when a quarter of wheat is 12*d.* per quarter, then wastel bread of a farthing shall weigh £6 16*s.*;" by which we suppose was meant  $6\frac{1}{2}$  pounds weight.<sup>1</sup> A similar enactment was made as to acres. The acre was divided into 160 pence, or 320 halfpence, or 640 farthings, so that it tallied with the subdivisions of the mark of account.<sup>2</sup> Thus *denariatus terræ* (a penny of land) meant a rod or perch, for the perch was the 160th part of an acre, as the penny was the 160th part of a mark. So the obolus, or half-penny, of land meant half a perch, and the quadrante, or farthing, of land, meant a quarter of a perch, or  $4\frac{1}{4}$  square feet. The expression "40 perches of candles" quoted in Anderson's "History of Commerce" (i, p. 178), and the use of "shillings" for ounces in the mint accounts of Henry III, are puzzling.<sup>3</sup> This application of the divisions of moneys to weights and measures was not peculiar to England. It is to be found in all the kingdoms which grew up from Roman provinces; for the custom is as ancient as the Empire itself. Wine measures were based on the Roman ace, which was the integer, and consisted of twelve cyathi. Thus a cup of two cyathi, was called a sextans, three cyathi a triens, four cyathi, a quadrans, etc., after the names of Roman coins.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Martin Folkes' "Table of English Silver Coins"; Harris on Coins, i, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> "Chronicon Preciosum," p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Ruding, i, p. 179. The term "shilling" appears to have been also used in the mint accounts of this reign for an ounce weight (Fleetwood, p. 23; Ruding, i, p. 179, etc.). The origin of this practice is obscure. Twelve sterlings (value one shilling) weighed less than half an ounce, so it could not have been derived from this analogy. Perhaps it was due to the use of tin or albata pennies, of which twelve may have roughly weighed an ounce.

<sup>4</sup> Adams, p. 396. The custom is accounted for by M. de Vienne.



Many modern economists and writers on money have argued that because by this law a £ meant a pound weight, as applied to bread, therefore it meant a pound weight of silver as applied to coins; that because an s meant the twentieth of a pound weight as applied to bread, therefore it meant the twentieth of the pound weight of silver as applied to coins; and that as a d meant the two-hundred-and-fortieth part of a pound weight as applied to bread, it meant the two-hundred-and-fortieth part of a pound weight of silver as applied to coins. This mode of reasoning, if applied to the subdivisions of the acre, would lead to very startling results. For example, because by law a mark meant the whole and a penny the one-hundred-and-sixtieth part of an acre, therefore when applied to coins the mark meant an acre of silver, and the penny a perch of that metal!

Another fallacy of money—one of practical importance at the present time—derives its origin from the monetary issues of this period. Jevons, in his “Money and Exchange,” avers that the “standard” of England, from the reign of the Plantagenets to that of the House of Brunswick, was silver, and afterwards gold. This is one of a host of modern sophistries which have sprung from the Act of 1666, and which no one before that period ever stumbled upon. It will be found in Harris’s “Essays on Money and Coins,” printed in 1757, and possibly in somewhat older books, although neither so old as the Dutch prototype of the Act of 18 Charles II, nor as that story of the disputative knights and the shield, which on the one side was of yellow metal and the other of white. In the case of money, the shield was neither of one metal nor the other. The term standard, as here used, can only mean measure, and neither gold nor silver metal was ever the measure of value in England until 1666, while since that date it has been such only to a limited extent, and under the operation of that Act as affected by subsequent legislation. Down to 1666 the “standard” of

England was the whole number of £. *s. d.* in the kingdom, whether of gold, silver, tin, copper, or leather, and the whole number of £. *s. d.* was whatever the combined coinages of Basileus, king, barons, and prelates happened to make it. In the course of this history many instances have been given when the king altered the measure or "standard" of value by simple decree, and without increasing or diminishing the quantity of either gold or silver—an irrefragable proof that the standard was not either of those metals, nor any other metal, but merely the whole number of £. *s. d.*, whether coined or existing by the king's will. Had either gold or silver been the standard of value, that standard would have been beyond the power either of Basileus, pope, or king to alter. It needs but a cursory perusal of the annals of the time to be convinced that such was not the case, and that, in fact, gold and silver metal had very much less to do with measuring value than the imperial and royal constitutions and edicts.

Edward I, Longshanks, found the coinage of England in great confusion and very corrupt. The sterlings of Henry III, badly executed, and so much worn and rounded or clipped that they contained but half their original weight of silver; the base silver coins of the nobles and ecclesiastics, which had in great degree replaced them in the circulation; the gold besants and maravedis, which the Jews and goldsmiths hoarded for export; and the numerous foreign silver coins which had crept into the circulation, combined to form a melange of money which was impossible to replace and troublesome to improve. Before making any efforts in this direction, the king commenced to fill his treasury by robbing the Jews and the goldsmiths, putting great numbers of the former to a cruel death, and throwing the latter into prison. In the reign of Edward III, there were few or no Jews left to kill, so the king robbed the Lombards; in that of Charles I. there were no Lombards, so the king robbed

the goldsmiths. Edward Longshanks' apology for slaying the Jews was that they circulated base money ; but, in fact, everybody did this, including the king himself, for there was at one period practically little other money in circulation. Their real crime was the hoarding of gold, which the king coveted.

Edward's raid upon the Jews and goldsmiths was made in 1279, the eighth year of his reign. As a make-weight to this transaction, he affected great concern for the purity of the silver coins purchased with this innocent blood. In the ninth or tenth year of his reign, he ordered the barons of the exchequer to "open the boxes of the assay of London and Canterbury, and to make the assay in such a manner as the king's council were wont to do."<sup>1</sup> Nothing is said in these instructions about the base coins minted at St. Albans, nor the coinage of tin in Devon and Cornwall, nor the issue of leather moneys at Conway, Caernarvon, and Beaumaris, nor the pollards and crockards valued in other royal edicts, nor the light coins, called from their devices mitres and lions, nor the cocodones, rosaries, stepings and scaldings,<sup>2</sup> nor the three sorts of copper coins which this king issued after cunningly plating or washing them with silver. Lowdnes, with some intemperateness attributes to this reign "the most remarkable deceits and corruptions found in ancient records to have been committed upon coins of the kingdom." Nothing is said of these matters in Edward's instructions concerning a trial of the pix ; and nothing is said of them in modern numismatic works.<sup>3</sup> Yet these corruptions of money have the highest historic value. Just, as in after times, the New England shilling first announced the stern resolution of her people to be free, and the "Continental" note proclaimed and asserted that

<sup>1</sup> Madox, i, p. 291.

<sup>2</sup> Fleetwood, pp. 39, 47.

<sup>3</sup> For leather issues of this reign, consult Ruding, ii, p. 130, and "Money and Civilisation," p. 64.

freedom, so did the leather notes and base coins of Edward's reign mark the parting of that mighty cable which held the province of Britain to the sinking ship of the Empire. The laws of politics, like those of pathology, are not gained by study of the healthy or the normal, but by observing the diseased and the abnormal.

In 1289 an indented trial-piece of "old sterling" (0.925 fine) was ordered to be lodged in the exchequer, and "every pound weight troy was to be *shorn* at twenty shillings and three pence, according to which the value of the silver in the coin was one shilling and eightpence farthing an ounce." So says Lowdnes (p. 34), citing the Red Book of the Exchequer, but this citation only conveys part of the truth, the remainder being supplied by Dr. Ruding. This conscientious author states, with reference to sterling coins, that from the Conquest down to the year 1527, the royal mints of England bought bullion by the pound troy (5,760 grains), and sold it by the pound tower (5,400 grains); so that even when the buying and selling price was the same, there remained to the crown a profit of about 7 per cent.<sup>1</sup> The weight of Edward's sterling pennies, many of which, in a perfect state of preservation, are still extant, corroborate this statement. If we assume with the Red Book that Edward paid 243 sterling pence per pound troy for sterling silver bullion—which is doubtful, for there were probably deductions made from this price to cover the cost of coinage—the coins prove that he sold it at 260 pence per troy pound, or, which is the same thing, 280 pence per tower pound. According to Keary's assays, the extant sterling pennies weigh  $22\frac{1}{2}$  grains, eleven-twelfths fine, equal to about  $20\frac{3}{4}$  grains net; but these are exceptionally heavy specimens.

In the same year (1289), says the Black Book, Edward sent for foreign moneyers, to teach him how to make and

<sup>1</sup> The statute of the Pillory and Tumbrel and of the Assize of Bread and Ale, 51 Henry III (1266), provides punishment for those "that sell by one measure and buy by another"—a proof that the royal example had become contagious.



orge moneys. Forging here means simply striking. It does not relate to the forged coins which were current in his reign, and which Edward's apologists imputed to the foreigners and the Jews, but which, it is much to be feared, were made with the connivance and for the profit of that ingenious prince. However, the Jews suffered for the forgeries all the same, for in the very next year Edward plundered and banished the remainder of them from the kingdom.<sup>1</sup> In 1298 (27 Edward I), it was commanded "that all persons, of whatever country or nation, may safely bring to our exchanges<sup>2</sup> any sort or sum of good silver coins or bullion, which shall be valued or reduced by the assayers according to the 'old standard' of England. Silver bullion, when assayed and stamped with its value<sup>3</sup> at our exchanges, may be used as a medium of barter—that is to say, as money." This was similar to a Spanish-American regulation of the sixteenth century,<sup>4</sup> and it proved quite as impracticable and futile. It was also provided by 27 Edward I, "that no bullion shall be exported out of the country without special license." This prohibition was repeated by Edward II, in 1307, thus implying that it had meanwhile been successfully evaded. This, and some other acts of the Plantagenets, which encroached upon the imperial prerogatives of Rome, must be recognised as efforts on the part of these kings of England to throw off their allegiance to the Empire. But it was not yet thrown off entirely. In 1299 (28 Edward I), it was provided "that silver plate shall be of no worse standard than coins. Gold plate shall be no worse than the 'touch' of Paris. All plate shall be assayed by wardens of the craft, and marked with a leopard's head. The wardens shall visit the

<sup>1</sup> See forgery, confession, and pardon of Sir William Thurington, in reign of Edward VI.

<sup>2</sup> Offices in the mint for exchanging coins (Madox, i, p. 291).

<sup>3</sup> This could only mean the value with reference to gold, which the coins of the Basileus still imposed.

<sup>4</sup> "Money and Civilisation," pp. 17, 78, 146.

goldsmiths' shops, and confiscate all plate of a lower standard." This was a new exercise of royal authority.

With regard to the pollards, crockards, and other base coins of the reign, Dr. Ruding assumes (apparently because they were base, or because their coinage does not appear to be provided for in the laws or mint indentures) that they were of foreign fabrication and surreptitious circulation; but this does not follow. Base issues were the rule, not the exception, of this reign. It is mere prejudice to heap them upon Phillip le Bel and other French kings, and omit them from the records of the English monarchy. Base coins were quite as common in England as in France; they were due to similar circumstances; they were attended by similar social phenomena; they had similar results; and no good can come of their suppression, concealment, or false ascription by modern historians. Pollards and crockards appeared in the circulation so early as 1280. In 1303 (32 Edward I) the custodes of the ordinance for the money at Ipswich were charged upon the Exchequer Rolls with £14 4*s.* 11*d.* for pollards and crockards.<sup>1</sup> If these were foreign and unlawful coins it is difficult to account for their use in the royal treasury and their appearance and recognition in the royal accounts. In 2 Edward II, there is an entry of a relief granted to the king's sheriffs and bailiffs who had received these coins at a penny each, which "by the king's proclamation were fallen from a penny to a half-penny."<sup>2</sup> Does this look like a reference to foreign or discredited coins? The king's officers are first required to receive them at a penny and afterwards at a half-penny each, and royal relief is granted to them for such of this class of coins as had accumulated in their hands during the royal alteration in their legal value. That they were in use during the whole of the reign of Edward I, and part of that of his successor is of itself almost sufficient proof of their legality. Sir Mathew Hale says that they were decried in 1300 (29 Ed. I)

<sup>1</sup> Madox, i, p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., i, p. 294.

It is possible that this was the date when they were lowered by proclamation, but the entries above quoted prove that they actually continued in use for years afterward. As to their omission from the laws and mint indentures, there are no such instruments extant. With a fragmentary and unimportant exception, all instruments relating to the coinage previous to 18 Edward III, if any existed (which is doubtful), have been lost or destroyed.

The extant sterlings ascribed to the first and second Edwards are not distinguishable one from the other. Numismatists assign those with the name composed of the fewest number of letters, as "Edw.," to Edward I; those with more letters, as "Edwa," to Edward II; and those with the full name, "Edwardus," to Edward III. This classification is attributed to Archbishop Sharpe, a numismatist of the last century, whose reasons for its adoption are, however, far from convincing.<sup>1</sup> In respect of the groats, Bishop Sharpe's capricious arrangement was as capriciously reversed, for there the full-spelt "Edwards" are ascribed to Edward I, and the abbreviated Edwards to his successor. For the reason that Lowndes' citation from the Red Book merely relates to the buying price of silver at the exchequer, and as there is no certainty that any of the extant coins were struck by Edward I, and, finally, because it is incredible, in such a condition of society as existed during this reign, that sterlings should have remained in a circulation filled with tin, copper, and leather coins, we should deem it quite likely that no sterlings at all were issued during this reign were it not for a circumstance recorded by Bishop Fleetwood, namely, that Edward's sterlings were valued at the time at two, three, or four pence, or sterlings, each—a custom quite common, both in England and France, during the whole period from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, but commonly

<sup>1</sup> Ruding, ii, p. 123; from "Bib. Top. Brit.," No. xxxv, p. 25. Per contra, see Leake, p. 8, and Folkes.

ignored or suppressed by modern writers on the subject.<sup>1</sup>

Among his other issues Edward struck silver coin weighing 80, 85, 92, 116, and 138 grains each, which are regarded by various writers as groats, shillings, medals, etc., but which might have passed as half-marks or even marks, for all that can be learnt from the few records now left of his numerous issues and their capricious valuations. The whole sum of money coined during this reign is estimated by Dr. Ruding at less than £16,000, but as this calculation leaves out of view the enhanced legal valuation of the sterlings, it is of little worth.<sup>2</sup> The native mines produced some small amount of silver in this reign. Those of Martinstowe, in Devonshire, yielded 370 lbs. weight of silver in 1294, 521 lbs. in 1295, and 704 lbs. in 1296, after which time they seem to have been abandoned as unprofitable.<sup>3</sup> An assay of silver from the mine of Byrlande, in Devon, was made in 2 Edward I.<sup>4</sup> The assumption of control over the mine, which the rendition of these accounts imply, was also a new exercise of royal authority. The system of *£. s. d.* remained unchanged, but what constituted a pound on account was now quite within the king's newly-assumed powers to determine at pleasure. The king's prerogative to raise or lower moneys, or to enhance or diminish their value, or to reduce them to bullion—a prerogative which had only been assumed by Henry II, when the sacred empire drew to its close, and was only asserted after it had expired—developed during the course of Edward's reign into a very practical form.

<sup>1</sup> Fleetwood, pp. 34, 35, 39, etc., and "Present State of England."

<sup>2</sup> Consult Humphreys, p. 140; Sir M. Hale in Davis' Reports, ed. 1674, p. 18; Drier's Rep., 7 Ed. VI, fol. 82; Madox, i, p. 294; "Money and Civilisation," p. 65; Ruding, ii, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> Jacob, "Hist. Prec. Met.," Phil. ed., p. 195.

<sup>4</sup> Madox, i, p. 291.



## CHAPTER XIV.

### LATER PLANTAGENET MONEYS.

No mint indentures prior to Edward I—No statutes of any kind previous to Magna Charta—Sudden beginning of frequent monetary changes in the reign of Edward II—Significance of this movement—Progressive assumption of regalian rights—Lowering of pollards and crockards—Interdiction of commerce in coins and bullion—Lowerings of sterling—Establishment of a maximum—Coinage of base money by the king—His death—Accession of Edward III—New monetary ordinances—Black money—Mercantile system—Tin money—Review of the gold question—The maravedi of Henry III—Preparation of Edward III, to issue gold coins—Permission from the emperor—Convention with Flanders—Authority of parliament—Issue of the double florin—Its immediate retirement—Fresh preparations—Issue of the gold noble or half mark—Its great significance.

NO written annals so plainly mark the steps by which England gradually developed from the provincial to the national phase of its existence as those which are stamped upon the coinages of the second and third Edward. Before describing these issues, one or two observations are necessary.

With the exception of the statute 28 Edward I. already cited, not a single indenture of the mint, from 1066 to 1346, is extant at the present day, nor is there any reason to suppose that any ever existed. If negative evidence were admissible in an enquiry of the present kind, this fact would be conclusive. It furnishes the inference that, down to the era of the Plantagenets, the princes of England did not enjoy control of the coinage, and had neither occasion nor authority to prescribe its regulations. The continued coinage and circulation of the gold solidus by the Basileus, its recognition by the Latin pontificate, and the prescriptive ratio of 12 silver for

1 gold, rendered the coinage of silver by the king a mere perfunctory act. The silver penny coined by Christian princes had to be of the same weight as the gold shilling coined by the Basileus. When the penny failed to conform to this rule, it failed to circulate; and the sacred college had the power to seal the prejudices of the public with its official condemnation of the heretical coin. But no sooner was the power of the Basileus extinguished than all this began to change; and every prince of Christendom stretched out his hands to grasp the coveted prerogative of coinage. The Gothic and Saxon princes as usual, were the foremost. It was a Gothic prince, Charles the Great, who, next after the emperor Frederic, struck the first Christian coin of gold, and a Gothic prince, Canute, of Denmark who first openly repudiated the suzerainty of pontifical Rome.<sup>1</sup> It need hardly be added that in such a cause the Saxon kings of England were not behind their compeers. Gold coinage began with Henry II and mint indentures with Edward III.

Not only are there no mint indentures before the fourteenth century, there are no national laws of any kind previous to the fall of Constantinople. The earliest entry in the Statutes at Large is an altered copy of Magna Charta, not drawn from any official registry, but fished out of an antiquarian collection. Hardly more creditable is the appearance of the ordinances which follow it down to the reign of Edward III.<sup>2</sup> They have all the appearance of having been "restored" in modern times. If the kings of England previous to Edward III were no vassals, why have we none of their ordinances? and if the pope or the Emperor was not their suzerain, why do the marks of the latter's superior authority appear in this, as they do in every kind of literary record, except, indeed, upon the pages of recently written history?

<sup>1</sup> See letter of Waldemar in the preface to Boulainvillier's "Life of Mahomet."

<sup>2</sup> These ordinances are not in the English, but the Roman language.

However, it is not alone upon literary evidence that the argument relies ; it stands also upon the far more certain evidence of coins and the nummular grammar. Many of these evidences have been already adduced. Those which will now be furnished relate chiefly to the sudden and frequent alterations of money which began after the fall of Constantinople, and culminated in the reign of Edward III. There are, indeed, many modern writers who either affirm or assume that no such alterations took place ; but the evidence on the subject is overwhelming. From the accession of Edward I, to the coinage of gold by Edward III, is a period which corresponds with the reigns of Philip le Hardie, Philip le Bel, Louis Hutin, Philip le Long, Charles le Beau, and Philip Valois, when, we are taught, that hundreds, almost thousands, of alterations were made in the monetary system of France, of which country a part still remained subject to the kings of England. In 1346 (reign of Philip Valois) there are recorded no less than ten alterations of the ratio between gold and silver in the French coinage. As to the debasements and degradations of Philip le Bel, every historical work is full of them. Yet all this time, while a furious storm of monetary changes and financial shifts was raging across the Channel, and whirling into every nook and corner of the English possessions in France, the political economists assure us that England lay in the midst of a dead calm, and that nothing of the sort happened there. How utterly unfounded is the inference upon which they rest so confidently will be seen when the positive evidence of the extant coins is unfolded.

The wave of monetary alterations which distinguishes this period began in Gothic-Spain, whence it flowed into France and England. The changes which began in France with Philip le Hardie and became so numerous under Philip le Bel and his successors, have rarely been correctly described and never fully understood. Even Mr. Hallam, one of the ablest and most impartial of historical

writers, must have failed to grasp the significance of these transactions when he stigmatised them by the coarse names of fraud and robbery. "The rapacity of Philip le Bel kept no measure with the public. . . . Dissatisfaction and even tumults arose in consequence. . . . The film had now dropped from the eyes of the people, and these adulterations of money, rendered more vexatious by continued re-coinages of the current pieces, upon which a fee was extorted by the moneyers, showed in their true light as mingled fraud and robbery."<sup>1</sup> The fidelity of this description is discredited by Mr. Hallam himself, who elsewhere says, "these changes seemed to have produced no discontent"—an admission that ill-agrees with the imaginary dissatisfaction and tumults above set forth. That the crux of the situation is misunderstood is evident from the absence of all allusion to the fall of the Empire and the recent acquisition of its coinage prerogatives by the Christian states of the West.

If we turn from Mr. Hallam's condemnation of Philip le Bel to his approval of his contemporaries, the princes of England, we shall find even less cause to be satisfied with his opinions on this subject. In the former case they find some apology in the defamation with which the mediæval ecclesiastics pursued Philip for curtailing their privileges and restraining their rapacity; in the latter, he is left with the poor defence of patriotic partiality. Says the historian: "It was asserted in the reign of Philip le Bel as a general truth that no subject might coin silver money. The right of debasing the coin was also claimed by this prince, as a choice flower of the crown." Whilst a little farther on in the same paragraph, he says: "No subject ever enjoyed the right (I do not extend this to the fact) of coining silver in England without the royal stamp and superintendence—a remarkable proof of the restraint in which the feudal aristocracy was always held in this country." If, in fact, the nobles and ecclesiastics o

<sup>1</sup> Hallam's "Middle Ages," chapter ii.



England exercised the privilege of coining silver, as we know they did, it is difficult to see wherein they were under greater restraint than the same classes elsewhere. But this is not all; Mr. Hallam's flourish goes farther. It implies that the right to coin, which he represents to have been so sadly abused by Philip, was more rightfully or more justly exercised by his contemporaries, the English princes.

Such is not the opinion of the earlier English writers. Our Matthew Paris says that the coins of his own time were adulterated and falsified beyond measure. Holinshed (ii, p. 318) says that, notwithstanding the baseness of the father's coins, the son, Edward II, proclaimed them to be good and current money. Stowe (p. 326) says that Edward II, ordered that his father's base coins should not be refused on pain of life and limb; and Carte prefers a similar accusation.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the text of the proclamation (4 Edward II), which contains this mandate is extant, to justify the mediæval chroniclers. Lowndes (eighteenth century) says that the greatest deceits and corruptions known to history were committed in the coinages of Edward I; and Lord Liverpool—who wrote during the present century—reluctantly confesses, in a letter to the king, the adulterations of money which were inaugurated by the Plantagenets.<sup>2</sup>

We shall presently offer even better testimony than the opinions of historians, namely, the evidence of the coins themselves. It will then be seen, not only that England fully kept pace with France in the wildest excesses of a now unrestrained right to coin, but also that these excesses, in which Mr. Hallam only perceives fraud and robbery, really constitute our most valuable proofs of England's approach toward national autonomy. They are the unsteady steps of tutelage, which preceded the firm march of an actual and independent sovereignty.

<sup>1</sup> "History England," ii, p. 308.

<sup>2</sup> "Letter to the King," chapter ix.

The year 1307 (1 Edward II), is the most probable date when the value of the pollards and crockards was lowered one-half. In effect it was decreed that that which was yesterday a penny, to-day shall be but a half-penny, and that which yesterday constituted a pound, shall be to-day but ten shillings.<sup>1</sup> In the same year was also enacted an explicit interdict against the exportation of either coined money or bullion from England.<sup>2</sup> A similar interdict was made in 1326.<sup>3</sup> It does not appear to have occurred to the crown that the Jews, banished to the continent, had it largely within their power to prevent the shipment of foreign moneys to England by paying for English merchandise with bills of exchange, drawn against foreign merchandise shipped to England. In this way they could, and doubtless did, intercept and prevent the shipment to that country of some of the coins or bullion which would otherwise have been remitted to it to pay for its exports. Many people, even at the present day, similarly fail to comprehend the operation of exchange. Their view is that unless every nation makes its money of the same material as other nations, it will place itself in the position of being unable to pay its foreign debts. A lesson from practical bill-drawers would greatly tend to alleviate such an apprehension.

In 1310 the Commons petitioned, and represented to the king that the coins were depreciated (meaning probably, not in value, but in contents of silver) more than one-half.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, the king made proclamation the same year that the coins should be current at the value they bore under Edward I, and that no one should enhance the price of his goods on that account. This is the edict of which Holinshed, Stowe, and Carte complain. Mr. Jewitt<sup>5</sup> says that

<sup>1</sup> Madox i, p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> Eggleston, "Antiq.," p. 196.

<sup>3</sup> Ruding, ii, p. 136.

<sup>4</sup> Rolls of Par., i, app. p. 444. Consult 4 Edward II, m. in 12 dors. (Ruding, ii, p. 133).

<sup>5</sup> "Antiq.," p. 146.

the petition of the Commons set forth that the coins (probably meaning the old sterlings) were clipped down to one-half. This was very likely, because unless the silver coins were cut down so as not to contain any more silver than the base coins of like denomination, they would probably have disappeared. But this time it could not have been the Jews who committed the offence, for there were no Jews now in England. Nor should the Caurisini, Peruchi, Scali, Fiscobaldi, Ballard, Reisardi, or other Roman clans or families, who filled their places in the English marts and exchanges, be suspected, for these were all good Catholics, and therefore presumably loyal subjects. Clippers and counterfeiters had been condemned to excommunication by the Council of the Lateran in 1123, and were subject by a statute—attributed to Edward I—to the penalty for treason.<sup>1</sup> Earth denounced such sacrilegious criminals, and heaven forbade them to approach its holy precincts. We are therefore at a loss to look for the transgressor, unless, indeed, he was to be found in the royal sanctuary itself. It may have been with the object to more effectually keep his base money afloat that the king, by proclamation in 1310, forbade, under heavy penalties, the importation of false moneys. If these false moneys were close imitations of the king's base coins, and contained the same proportion of fine silver, the practice of importing them infers that prices had not risen to the level of the debasement.

In 1311 the Lords Ordainers enacted that no changes should be made in the value of the coins without consent of the barons in parliament assembled. This startling declaration amounted to a claim on the part of the nobles for a share in those regalian rights which the king was daily acquiring from the falling power of Constantinople and Rome, but it was successfully resisted by Edward, who, in 1321, repealed the ordinance, at York. There are no records relating to its operation in the interval. Accord-

<sup>1</sup> Ruding, ii, pp. 214-226.

ing to the Roll of 9 Edward II, the king commanded Richard Hywysh, sheriff of Cornwall, by writ, to pay on his account £372 14s. 4d. to Antony di Pessaigne of Janua, out of the profits of the tin coinage (*coignagio stagminis*).<sup>1</sup> Indeed, tin money and gold money appear to have been struck by the Western princes at the same time, and owing to the same parent event, the fall of the Basileus. There being then a great deal of false money in circulation, a writ was issued in 1318 to the barons of the exchequer, commanding them to order the sheriffs of England to make proclamation that "no man should import into the realm clipped money or foreign counterfeit money, under great penalties, and that such persons as had any clipt money in their hands, should bore it through in the middle, and bring it to the king's cambium to be re-coined."<sup>2</sup> This proclamation must have had some other than its professed object, for in the same year Edward complained to Philip le Bel of France that "merchants were not permitted to bring any kind of money out of France into England, for that it was taken from them by searchers." When it is remembered that the coins of Philip le Bel were greatly debased and overvalued, it appears more likely that the clipped and "foreign" counterfeit coins mentioned in the proclamation were fabricated in England. This view finds further corroboration in the fact that, in 1318, "an assay was made of the money minted in the exchanges of London and Canterbury . . . to wit, of £40,730 minted in the said exchanges within the said time" (about two years), and "upon this assay it was found that the said money was too weak and of a greater alloy than it ought to have been by £258 5s. 10d."<sup>3</sup>

The classification of bullion into domestic and foreign first occurs in the reign of Edward II, and was continued

<sup>1</sup> Madox, i, p. 386.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., i, p. 294; "Statutes at Large," vol. i.

<sup>3</sup> Madox, i, p. 291.



in that of Edward III, after which no traces of it appear in the mint records. Nature does not admit of such classification, because all bullion of the like metal and when refined is alike. Domestic metal cannot be distinguished from foreign. It was clearly impracticable to prevent foreign bullion from being imported, indeed, the complaint of the times was that foreign clipped and counterfeit coins were imported, and if practically coins could be imported, so also could bullion. Nor was it the policy of the crown to prevent the importation of bullion; on the contrary, it did everything in its power to promote such importation. It is therefore difficult to see what object was aimed at by classifying silver into *cismarinum* and *transmarinum*,<sup>1</sup> except a further assertion of that newly-acquired imperial prerogative of entire control over the coinage, and the materials of coinage, which the king had in his mind and seemed determined to proclaim to all the world. Whatever his plans, they were defeated by the rebellion of his wife Isabella and the nobles whom he had previously curbed and restrained. These, fleeing to France with the infant son of the king, there organised an expedition, which landed in England during the autumn of 1326, defeated and captured the king, threw him into a dungeon, and there dispatched him.

Edward III. was crowned January 25th, 1327. To the numerous and sudden alterations of money which, like an exhibition of fireworks, celebrate the emancipation of the Western princes from the thralldom of Cæsar's empire, but introduced the greatest confusion into nummulary denominations and relations, England contributed an additional element of confusion. At all events, it was far less common in other countries. This was a marked difference between the contents of a coin as provided by law or mint indenture and its actual contents, as found by weight and assay, of perfect specimens still extant. For example, the mint indenture of 1345 provided that the pound tower

<sup>1</sup> Ruding.

of silver, 0·925 fine, should be coined into  $22\frac{1}{2}$  pennies. This would make the gross weight of each penny 24 grains, and the contents of fine silver 22·2 grains, whereas the actual coins in good condition weigh but 20 grains and contain but  $18\frac{1}{2}$  grains of fine silver. Similar differences are to be found in other coins of the period.

In choosing between the conflicting evidences of the statutes, the mint indentures, and the actual coins, the author has observed the following order of preference :—first, the actual coins ; second, the mint indentures ; third, the Acts of Parliament, which in many instances were only intended for show or deception, and in such cases were practically a dead letter. Even in the actual coins there is room for error, because they vary considerably. Mr. Keary's weighings are those of the heaviest, and because this practice is regarded as misleading, we have not always been guided by that author. Among the earliest statutes of the new reign were those of 1327, against the importing of light and counterfeit coins, and of 1331, against the exportation of either coins or bullion. The penalty for the latter was at first made death and the forfeiture of all the offender's profit, but two years afterwards it was lessened by proclamation to mere forfeiture of the money so attempted to be exported, and in 1335 the Act was extended to "religious men" as well as others. The conviction which must enforce itself upon all persons in authority that such ordinances can never be practically executed, the actual failure of similar ordinances in the preceding reign, and the language and tone of the present ones, all combine to produce the impression that the latter were intended as a cover, to account for the melting down of the "old sterlings" in the king's mints, and to furnish an apology for that emission of black money which soon afterwards made its appearance, and was probably fabricated at the king's behest. That he was not above the art of issuing insincere edicts is strikingly proved by his proclamation of 1341, wherein he avows that in his

previous Interdict of Usury he "dissembled in the premises" and "suffered that pretended statute to be sealed," which he now revokes and declares void.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Ruding naively enquires if the *Turonensis nigri*, mentioned in the statute of 1335 as being "commonly current in our (the king's) realm," meant copper coins struck at Tours? We think not. There are no proofs that copper coins of Tours circulated in England at this period, but many proofs that English black money did; for in the same statute it was provided that all manner of black money in circulation should cease to be current in one month's time after it is decreed.<sup>2</sup> Yet but a short time afterwards the king's council in parliament at York authorised new black money to be made, containing one-sixth part of alloy.<sup>3</sup> In 1338 various proclamations were made, which denote that black money was still in circulation, and in 1339 one was made which authorised the circulation of black "turneys" (*Tournois*) in Ireland.<sup>4</sup> Black money was not peculiar to Edward III, but had been used by both his father and grandfather. Edward I, (in 1293) agreed to pay to the emperor Adolphus 300,000 "black livres tournois," and in 1297 to certain nobles of Burgundy 30,000 "small black livres tournois."<sup>5</sup> To the earl of Guelders Edward promised to pay 100,000 "black livres tournois,"<sup>6</sup> and it is not likely that at this period he would have stipulated to pay so large a sum in a coin which he did not himself fabricate.

<sup>1</sup> "Statutes at Large" (Ruding, ii, p. 251).

<sup>2</sup> "All manner of black money which hath been commonly current of late in our realm" shall cease to be current within a month after it is decreed ("Statutes at Large," 9 Edward III, 1335).

<sup>3</sup> A great part of this statute is not printed in the modern editions of the "Statutes at Large." Consult 9 Edward III in Statutes, folio ed. (1577), black letter.

<sup>4</sup> Consult 4 Edward III, pt. ii, 35 dors (Rymer, "Fœdera," v, p. 113).

<sup>5</sup> Anderson's "History Com.," i, p. 250; "Fœdera," ii, p. 778.

<sup>6</sup> Anderson, i, p. 251; Rymer's "Fœdera," ii, p. 675.

In the royal ordinance authorising the establishment of a mint at Calais, after the capture of that city in 1347, the king (Edward III,) commanded "white money" to be made there similar to that which was struck in England.<sup>1</sup> In 1354 the moneyers of Aquitaine were allowed threepence in the mark for all money coined by them for the king, whether "white or black," except gold.<sup>2</sup> We repeat that these black moneys, which the historians usually evince much anxiety to keep out of view, are really the proofs of England's dawning independence; for while she remained a fief of Rome, and the mints of the Basileus supplied her with besants, nobody was obliged to use silver, and the fabrication of black money would have brought the king no profit, and therefore none was coined. The coinage of black money and the abrogation of the sacred besant mean the same thing—the refusal and rejection of any further allegiance to the Empire.

In 1341 a great mass of sterling coins and silver-plate was collected in London by private parties for exportation. In 1342 a similar event occurred at Boston.<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to see the motive for these attempts to export silver, unless the circulation consisted of royal money overvalued, and unless there was no further use for sterlings and silver bullion in the hands of private owners. In 1342 the king's rents in Guernsey, Jersey, Sark, and Alderney were exacted in sterlings, while his payments were made in light coins worth but ten shillings in the "pound."<sup>4</sup> This may have been clipped coins or black money, of which each penny piece had but a half-penny's worth of silver in it, and therefore the nominal "pound" but ten shillings' worth.

In 1343 the council in parliament advised the king to issue what would now be termed a Convention gold coin, to be current, with permission of the Flemings, both in

<sup>1</sup> Rot., France, 22 Edward III m. 19 (Ruding, ii. p. 182, n.).

<sup>2</sup> Rot., Vasc., 28 Edward III m. 1 (Ruding, ii, 195).

<sup>3</sup> Ruding, ii, pp. 150-2.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., ii, p. 152.



Flanders and England, that no silver should be carried out of the realm except by noblemen, and that these should be limited to the carrying out of silver plate for use in their houses. The first part of this proposal introduces one of the most important subjects connected with the regalian rights of the English crown. Down to the year 1204, or practically to 1257, the gold coins lawfully circulating in England had been supplied exclusively by the Basileus, and consisted, as before stated, of the besant and its fractions. When in that year Henry resolved to invade the prerogative of the Sacred Empire, he struck, not a solidus nor a fraction of a solidus, but a Moorish maravedi—a piece which commerce with the Spanish-Arabians had rendered familiar to Englishmen under the various names of “maravedi,” “new talent,” “obolus de Murcia,” “gold penny,” etc. The maravedi of that period contained 40 to 43 grains of fine gold; it circulated in England, not, like the besant, by force of law and immemorial usage, but merely because it was a justly-minted and well-known coin of regular weight and fineness, and preferable to the adulterated and clipped coins which had made their appearance when the besants began to disappear in the reign of John. The maravedi had filled the circulation in continually increasing proportions. Its low valuation in silver (10 for 1) proves that it had no standing in the law. As the common circulation of the maravedi in England may seem incredible to a certain class of numismatists, it has been deemed useful to bring together some of the texts in which it is mentioned. It will be seen at a glance that its era agrees substantially with that of the Plantagenet dynasty.

*Table showing the texts which mention the maravedi, or obolus de Murcia, as circulating in England.*

Year when circulated.	Regnal period.	Remarks.
1176	23 Henry II	Madox, ii, p. 367, valued at 20 sterlings.
1193	5 Richard I	Madox, i, p. 278, valued at 10 for 1.
1215	17 John	Madox, ii, p. 261, valued at 21 sterlings.
1250	35 Henry III	Madox, <i>re</i> Philip Lurel.
1252	37 Henry III	Ruding, i, p. 316, valued at 16 sterlings. <sup>1</sup>
1257	41 Henry III	Weight $41\frac{1}{2}$ grains fine, coined by the king, valued at 20 sterlings.
1283	12 Edward I	Madox.
1293	22 Edward I	Madox.
1347	21 Edward III	Sir M. Hale, in Davis' Reports.

The maravedi was first coined in Spain, during the dynasty of the Almoravedis, hence its name. One of these coins, struck in Murcia, A.H. 548 (A.D. 1153), during the interregnum between the Almoravedi and Almohade dynasties, is called by Queipo a "Mourdanish," which we are inclined to believe is a misnomer. This piece, in a very good state of conservation, is now in the cabinet of Gayanos, and weighs  $44\frac{1}{8}$  English grains. It tallies in weight with the siliqua weight, or the  $\frac{1}{120}$  part of the Egypto-Roman pound of  $5,243\frac{3}{4}$  English grains, with the gold maravedi, with the silver dirhem, and with two sterling pennies.<sup>2</sup> The true Mourdanish should rather be found in the half-mithcal, a specimen of which, struck during the first years of the Almohade dynasty, is now in the cabinet of Cerda. This coin is also published by Queipo, who accords it its true name the "Mourdanish of Murcia," and gives its weight at  $34\frac{3}{4}$  grains, the state of conservation being very good. The use of the gold mithcal in Spain can be traced back to the eighth century, when Hachem I, settled upon his brother Suleiman a life annuity of 70,000 "mithcales or pesantes" as an equiva-

<sup>1</sup> From Henshaw's translation of Domesday Book, vol. i, fol. i. The pence were light ones.

<sup>2</sup> The siliqua weight must not be confused with the siliqua coin, which weighed scarcely more than a third as much.

lent for his estates in Spain.<sup>1</sup> In the tenth century the mithcal was called by the Christians the "dobla," probably in reference to its being the double of the more popular and better known half-mithcal or "Mourdanish."<sup>2</sup> Abd-el-Raman III, (912-61) settled a life annuity of 100,000 "doblas of gold" upon Ahmed-ben-Saia for his capture and plunder of Tunis.<sup>3</sup> The annual revenues of Alhakem II, besides the taxes in kind, were "twelve million mithcals of gold."<sup>4</sup> The piece we are considering is therefore not the half-mithcal, but the maravedi, and its period is not that of the early but of the later caliphs of Spain, the contemporaries of the Plantagenets.

The weight of Henry's gold coins was 43 grains (0.965 fine), equal to about  $41\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine. They were probably intended to weigh exactly the same as one gold maravedi, or two silver sterlings. These coins he called "oboli," and ordered them to pass for twenty silver sterlings, or half-dirhems—a ratio apparently of 10 for 1, but really of 9 for 1, because his sterlings weighed less than 20 grains, and were only 0.925 fine. It is alleged that these gold coins were objected to, on commercial grounds, by the merchants of London. This is hardly credible, because the coins were really undervalued. They could be bought with nine weights of pure silver, whereas they were worth twelve, which was the ratio of the time in all Christian States. This conclusion is strengthened by the circumstance that these same "oboli," after being temporarily demonetised, were raised, by Henry's command in 1269, to 24 pence—a ratio of 12, and that at this ratio they actually passed current without objection. As to

<sup>1</sup> Calcott, i, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> The contents of the *dobla de la vanda* in "Money and Civilisation," p. 93, deduced from the assumption that the castellano coin was as heavy as the castellano weight, are given erroneously.

<sup>3</sup> Calcott, i, p. 223.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, i, p. 249.

their mechanical execution, the author is able, from personal examination, to declare that they were far superior to any other coins, English or French, of that day. The only valid reason that can be assigned for the objection made to them was the superstitious repugnance to accept gold coins not stamped with the authority of the Sacred Empire. This repugnance may have been enhanced by the fear that the coins would not be currently accepted in England, or, if in England, not in other Christian states.

Bearing in mind the example and failure of Henry III, Edward did not venture to strike coins of gold until he had acquired that full degree of sovereignty which the Basileus had involuntarily bequeathed to the Western princes. In November, 1337, Edward was appointed, and he accepted the appointment of Vicar-General to the German emperor, with power to coin gold and silver. Though this formality now seemed needless, yet that it was entered into with the view to prepare the way for the coinage of gold is evident from several circumstances. In 1340 the king's council in parliament enacted that all shippers of wool should undertake to bring in for each bag two marks' worth of gold or silver.<sup>1</sup> Again, in 1342 the king ordered still more pointedly that all corn exported to foreign countries should be sold for gold coins or bullion. Another preparation—a futile one to be sure—consisted in employing Raymond Lully, or some other alchemist, for whom a laboratory was fitted up in the Tower, which should enable that impostor to transmute gold from baser metals. Was it an excess of caution, lest the great step he meditated might miscarry at the last moment, that the king found a means to prompt the advice of his council in parliament that he should coin gold? At all events, such seems to be the character of the insinuation that the Flemings sold their goods only for Flemish gold florins, which were valued so highly in

<sup>1</sup> Ruding, ii, p. 149.



English silver coins as to render payment in the latter unprofitable to English merchants. "In other words," said the king, "by paying gold florins with silver coins our merchants continually lose; let us, therefore, enable them to pay with gold ones."

Such appears to have been the genesis of the famous ordinance of 1343. Upon the king's information, the king's council advised the king, in case the Flemings were willing, to issue a convention gold coin, and it was provided, in such event, that such coins should be unlimited legal tender between merchant and merchant, "as money not to be refused;" that all other persons, great or small, might accept them if they pleased, but not otherwise; that all other (foreign) gold coins should be melted down; and that no silver should be carried out of the realm, except by noblemen, and then only silver-plate for use in their houses. This advice was carried into effect in 1344 by the coinage of a gold double-florin, weighing 50 to the pound tower and  $23\frac{1}{2}$  carats  $0.979\frac{1}{6}$  fine, the "old standard" for gold.<sup>1</sup> Thus, each piece would contain  $105\frac{7}{8}$  grains fine. It was ordered to be current at six shillings (each of 12 sterlings). Two or three specimens of this piece are extant, both found in the river Tyne. The best one weighs 107 grains gross. There were also florins and half-florins of the same issue, now extremely rare. At first—and differing from the advice of the council in parliament—the double-florins were made full legal tenders in "all manner of payments," afterwards optional legal tenders, and finally they were demonetised all within the same year. They were the first English coins of any kind upon which were stamped

<sup>1</sup> As this was the first issue of gold coins by any Christian king in England, or any king of all England, except the abortive maravedis of Henry III, the expression "old standard" in the mint indenture could only refer to the Byzantine or the Arabian standard. The former was about 0.900, the latter was  $0.979\frac{1}{6}$  fine ( $23\frac{1}{2}$  carats). Therefore, "old standard" in reference to gold meant the Arabian standard.

the words "Dei gratia."<sup>1</sup> Down to that time the kings of England coined by the grace of Cæsar, or, as in John's case, the pope, his successor. Edward III. first coined by the grace of God.

Previous to 1344 the sterlings of Edward III.,<sup>2</sup> contained  $20\frac{3}{4}$  grains 0·925 fine =  $19\frac{1}{4}$  grains fine silver. Hence the ratio between the double-florin and sterling was about 12·6 for 1—too high for gold and too low for silver. As the Flemings were evidently unwilling to accept gold at this valuation, and the double-florins found no welcome with the merchants, the king, bent upon the successful issuance of this significant proclamation and token of national independence, ordered a new gold coin to be struck, and he decried the first one. The second issue, which was made in the same year as the first, was of nobles weighing  $39\frac{1}{2}$  to the pound tower, same fineness as the double florins, hence containing 133·8 grains fine, and valued at 6*s.* 8*d.*—a ratio of 11·06 for 1. These were made legal tender for all sums of 20*s.* and upwards, but not for any sum below. The obverse of this coin represents the king standing in a ship in mid-channel, obviously in allusion to its international character. Some of the numismatists, however, make it typify the strength of the English navy in 1359, fifteen years after date; others a victory over corsairs in 1347, three years after; and others a naval victory over the French in 1340, four years before. Mr. Keary gives the weight of an extant noble of this issue at  $138\frac{1}{2}$  grains standard. This is evidently exceptionally heavy. He also gives the weight of the later issues of 1346 at  $128\frac{7}{8}$  grains standard, and the still later ones of 1351 to 1360 at 120 grains standard, the legal value being always 6*s.* 8*d.* The king's seigniorage upon these coins was £1 for each one pound tower weight of gold, and the charge of the Master of the Mint was 3*s.* 4*d.*—together, £1 3*s.* 4*d.* As the tower pound weight was coined into £13 3*s.* 4*d.* of account, the merchant re-

<sup>1</sup> Ruding, ii, p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> "Old Sterlings" (Lowndes).

ceived back but £12, or scarcely more than 91 per cent., of the gold deposited at the mint. In the following year the merchant's proportion of the £13 3s. 4d. coined out of his pound weight of gold was raised from £12 to £12 13s. 4d., thus leaving to the Crown and mint only 4 per cent.<sup>1</sup>

When the Crown came to deal with the Flemings it found that people less compliant than it had wished. They agreed to accept gold nobles provided they were coined (under the king's letter of authority) in Flanders, and also provided they could agree upon a proper division of the profits from the coinage.<sup>2</sup> To determine this proportion and superintend the issuance of the coins, commissioners were sent to Ghent, Bruges, and Ipre, but the result of the negotiations is not definitively known. Froissart and Grafton both state that gold coins with the name of Edward were struck at Antwerp in 1337, but such coins are not extant; neither are there any of the Anglo-Flemish gold coins proposed in 1344. In a mint indenture of 1345 the weight of the noble was reduced. The pound tower of gold, 23½ carats fine, was to be coined into 42 nobles, each valued at 80 sterlings. In 1351 the noble was reduced to 120 grains standard without alteration of nominal value, which continued as before at 6s. 8d., or 80 sterlings.

One thing more. This coin convention with the Flemings is the earliest, or among the earliest, international monetary treaties known to history since the establishment of the sacred Empire. If the "kingdoms" of France, Spain, Portugal, England, Burgundy, etc., were as independent as the modern historians of those countries

<sup>1</sup> Ruding, ii, pp. 165, 174.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 194. The Flemish ratio of the time was evidently 10 for 1; and to warrant the acceptance of the gold nobles in Flanders at Edward's valuation, the Flemings must have demanded the entire abandonment of the seigniorage, to which, of course, the English commissioners would not assent.

would fain pretend, why is it that they have not been able to produce the evidence of any international conventions between them previous to the fall of Constantinople and why is it that such conventions took place immediately after that event, and have continued to take place down to the present day ?

Down to the issuance of the gold nobles, the monetary systems of the English monarchy belonged to the Empire: they conserved no local or national principles; they contain no lessons for Englishmen. But from this moment they assume an entirely different phase and bearing: they become imbued with life; they partake of the spirit which had begun to animate the nation to which they belong; they occupy a distinct position in the British constitution; and they bear upon them the marks of those endless struggles and vicissitudes through which the Anglo-Saxon races have borne the standard of religious and political liberty.



## CHAPTER XV.

### EVOLUTION OF THE COINAGE PREROGATIVE.

Impetus afforded to the development of British national independence—The Great Interregnum—Assertions of English sovereign authority—Assumption of royal or national control over the precious metals and money—Assumption of Mines Royal—Assumption of treasure trove—Royal coinage of gold—Interdict of the besant—Trial of the pix—Royal monetary commission—Suppression of episcopal and baronial mints—Export of precious metals prohibited—First complete national sovereignty of money—Prohibition of tribute to Rome.

THE gold coinage of Henry III, proclaimed an assumption of sovereign power which Henry's weak and faithless character was not fitted to support by force of arms. It bears about the same relation to England's declaration of independence as the coinage of Pine Tree shillings did to that of America: it was the trumpet-sound of a coming event; not the event itself. The latter was embodied in the magnificent gold coinage of 1344, upon which Edward is portrayed with drawn sword, and standing on the deck of a man-of-war asserting his readiness to defend the new-born liberties of his country if necessary against the world.

The interval between the coinages of Henry and Edward was filled with significant events. Prominent among these was that Great Interregnum<sup>1</sup> which marked the fall of the mediæval empire, and the dissolution of that political partnership, which had joined the prayers of Leo III, to the dripping swords of Pepin and Charlemagne. Frederick II, died in 1250, and, as Mr. Bryce

<sup>1</sup> The name given to the interval between the death of Frederick II, and the acceptance of the so-called "imperial crown" by Rudolph of Hapsburg in 1273.

pithily remarks, "with Frederick fell the empire." The brief and eventless reign of Conrad IV, and the assassination of Conradin, by the connivance and with the approval of Clement, ended the Suabian line of "emperors," but furnished no basis for a new dynasty. In vain did the See of Rome urge Richard of Cornwall, Alfonso of Castile, and others, to fill its puppet-throne of empire. In vain did it urge upon the Western princes the necessity of choosing an imperial sovereign. It met with nothing but respectful apathy. Edward was not the only prince who, during or shortly after the Interregnum, drew an independent national sword. The church had extinguished both the Basileus and the "emperor"; there was no longer any Empire, neither sacred nor holy, neither Eastern nor Western. The edifice which Cæsar had erected had often given way, and had been as often propped up, patched, and repaired. This time it went to pieces, and many of these pieces disappeared in the void of the Interregnum. The pope remained master of the field, but the field was a desert. The princes of Europe, the pro-consuls, dukes, and kings of the Roman provincial states were free. Nay, more; the people also were free, and the Commons once more assembled together as a political body, with political rights and functions.

Yet, though long since condemned by the united voice of Europe, though dismembered and past all hope of resuscitation, there was still enough vitality in the empire to make a show of authority. The pope of Rome, who had been its executioner and was now its legatee, was anxious to revive its prestige, in order that he might inherit that as well. He possessed sufficient resources to make a strong effort in this direction, and resolved to embark them in a contest with the Western princes. This struggle did not come to a close until the reigns of Philip le Bel and Edward III. Boniface VIII. had written to Philip, claiming him as "a subject both in spirituals and temporals." To this Philip had replied, "We give your

Foolship to know that in temporals we are subject to no person."<sup>1</sup> And with this contemptuous retort was blown out the last spark of Cæsar's empire.

From this period commenced a new era in the development of European liberty. Previously the movement against Roman suzerainty was directed both against the "emperor" and the pope, and, therefore, was divided and weakened. It had now only to contend against the pope, and the result was that it won many important victories.

Among the great political signs which mark the birth of the independent English monarchy was the assumption by the Crown of entire control over the precious metals. This was accomplished by various steps—the assertion of mines royal; treasure trove; coinage of gold; demonetisation of the Imperial besant and other coins; control over the movement of the precious metals; the suppression of episcopal and baronial mints; the trial of the pix; the regulation of the standard; and the doctrine of national money. All these steps were accomplished at this period.

Control over such supplies, as mining and commerce afford, of the material out of which money is to be made by the sovereign power, is a necessary corollary of the sovereign right to create money, and the two prerogatives will always be found in one hand.<sup>2</sup> The doctrine of mines royal holds that all mines producing such materials belong of necessity to the Crown. Down to the fall of the sacred Empire the only material out of which the princes of Europe could lawfully create money was silver;<sup>3</sup> after that period such material or materials included gold. The earliest assertion of the doctrine of mines royal, including gold as well as silver, by any Christian king was made by Louis IX, of France. He was followed by

<sup>1</sup> Brady, "Clavis Calendaria," ii, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Consult my "Money and Civilisation" on this subject. A proper adjustment of the rights of government to mines of the precious metals, both in England, France, Spain, and America, still awaits the dispassionate consideration of this great principle.

<sup>3</sup> With regard to copper, see elsewhere herein.

Henry III, who in 1262 asserted, for the first time in England, a similar doctrine and prerogative. But Henry—though in this, as well as in other respects, he frequently assumed an attitude of independent sovereignty—was easily bullied out of it by the effrontery and swagger of the pope; so that, according to Matthew Paris, the independence of England was asserted and surrendered many times during his weak reign. The heroic example of Frederic II, in defying the impudent claims of the Vatican, was thrown away upon this superstitious and faithless voluptuary, who saw his country again and again led captive to the foot of a foreign throne rather than brave a single curse from the lips of a scheming pontiff. The prerogative of mines royal was, therefore, practically abandoned until the period of the first issue of gold coins by Edward III, when, without any formality, it again came into force, and has so remained, with apparently little change, down to the present time. However, in point of fact, the institution of private coinage has dragged this prerogative down with that of royal coinage.

The prerogative of treasure trove was adopted, held, and subsequently relinquished by the sovereign-pontiff of Rome, who, in the reign of Hadrian, equitably divided it between property and discovery. This right afterwards fell into the hands of the Roman proconsuls, vassal kings, and great lords. What disposition they made of it does not appear in the chronicles of the mediæval ages, but we need no chronicle to inform us. The chance discovery of a hidden treasure was not, like the opening and working of a mine, a public and onerous enterprise, involving outlays of capital, the co-operation of numerous persons, and the permission of the State authorities. On the contrary, the finding of hidden treasure was of a secret and furtive character, and in the mediæval ages treasure trove belonged to him who could keep it. The earliest public notice of the subject in England relates to Edward Confessor, who



declared that all of the gold and one half of all silver treasure trove belonged of right to the king. It will be borne in mind that the England of this prince embraced only a portion of the present kingdom. We next hear of treasure trove in the reign of Louis IX, of France (1226-70), who declared: "Fortune d'or, est au roi; fortune d'argent, est au baron," thus claiming gold treasure trove for the Crown and relinquishing silver to the nobles.<sup>1</sup> The same doctrine in England belongs to the reign of Henry III, and it was not until the following century that the Crown claimed both the gold and silver of treasure trove.

The coinage of gold, first timidly attempted by Henry, then boldly and resolutely begun by Edward, has been sufficiently treated in this work. It is only necessary to repeat that it forms, and has always formed, practically the most striking, notorious and unequivocal assertion which it is possible to make of sovereign authority and power, and that its entire relinquishment and avoidance by the Western Christian princes is to be accounted for on no other sufficient grounds than that the Basileus was universally conceded by them to be the lawful successor of Constantine, and therefore the lawful suzerain of the Empire to which in certain respects they owed fealty.

An intermediate step between the acts of Henry and Edward III, was taken by Edward I, who in 1291, or thereabouts—the date being uncertain—ordered that no foreign coins should be admitted into the kingdom except such as might be in use by travellers and others for casual expenses; and as to these, he provided public offices where they might be exchanged. This law may have been intended to include and aim at the besant, then the most important "foreign" coin in circulation; for, with regard to other foreign coins, they appear to have been as numerous

<sup>1</sup> "Etablissements," liv. i, chap. 15.

and as commonly employed in England after this enactment as before.<sup>1</sup>

The policy of regulating, or attempting to regulate, the import and export movement of the precious metals, which, as we may see from Cicero, Pliny, and other authors, was systematically pursued by the Roman State, both as it approached, and after it had assumed, the condition of an Empire,<sup>2</sup> was also first adopted by the king of England during the Plantagenet period. It is true that Mr. J. R. McCulloch was of opinion that this policy was pursued in England before the Norman Conquest;<sup>3</sup> but as he has offered no proofs to support it, and the coinage and other legislation respecting gold contradicts it, the author is compelled, though with reluctance, to differ in this instance from that distinguished economist.

The same policy of regulating the movement of gold and silver, now erroneously known as the mercantile system, was assumed by all the States that rose on the ruins of the empire, but not until they had shaken off its claims to their allegiance. The sudden assumption of this regalian right implies a previous interval of over thirteen centuries, during which, save the Empire itself, there was no permanently independent sovereign State within the domain of Christendom with power to exercise it.<sup>4</sup>

Analogous to this regalian right was that of purging the kingdom of episcopal and baronial mints, with the view to concentrate the prerogative of providing an unital measure of value for the whole kingdom, and placing it in the hands of the sovereign. Such right was evidently attempted to be exercised by means of the Monetary Commission of 1293 (22 Edward I), which was appointed to

<sup>1</sup> Jacob, "Hist. Prec. Metals," p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> At that period, for reasons which the readers of this work will understand, it was confined to gold.

<sup>3</sup> "Polit. Econ.," p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> This view is amply supported by Mr. Bliss in his recently published "Papal Registers."

examine the various coins employed throughout the kingdom, and report upon the same to the king. The text of the instructions to this commission is preserved in Madox's "*History of the Exchequer*," i, p. 293, note F.

Another assertion of regalian rights during this period was the trial of the *pix*, which is first specifically mentioned in the *Exchequer Rolls* relating to the 9th or 10th Edward I, about 1280 or 1281.<sup>1</sup>

The regulation of the standards of weight and fineness is necessarily connected with the prerogative of coinage. So long as the sacred Empire remained, the coinage prerogative of the Basileus—which the princes of Christendom had never presumed to violate—acted as a continual check upon any desire or tendency on their part to adulterate or lower the coinage. Anybody could balance a quarter-besant against a silver penny, and so settle out of hand the question of weight. That of fineness, though not susceptible of so satisfactory a solution, was almost as readily determinable with the aid of the touchstone. By these means the tendency of the vassal princes of the Empire to adulterate their silver coinage was effectually defeated. That such was their desire and tendency, and that they often attempted to indulge it, has been abundantly proved; and to rid themselves of the serious restraints which the ancient prerogatives of the Basileus imposed upon their fiscal operations, they would probably have been glad to enlist in a dozen crusades, instead of

<sup>1</sup> The regulation of weights and measures—an obscure subject awaiting elucidation at the hands of scholars—seems to have been in ancient times connected with the coinage, and exercised as an ecclesiastical function. With the organisation of the Roman empire it fell into the hands of the sovereign-pontiff, and continued to be exercised by his successor, the pope. The ninth decree of the council assembled by Athelstan, at Gratanlea, forbade the holding of fairs on Sundays, while the tenth exhorts the bishops "to keep the standards of the weights and measures of their respective dioceses, and take care that all conformed to these standards." The acts of this council, or parliament, were evidently made in conformity with orders or advices from Rome (Henry, "*Hist. Brit. II*," i, p. 262).

five. But whilst the *fainéant* Empire of the Basileus actually lasted—and this it did so long as the pope hesitated to destroy it—the Christian princes had to return sooner or later to the ratio of value and the standards of weight and fineness imposed upon them by its senile but venerable authority. The moment the Empire fell all restraint flew before the winds. The standards then, and for the first time, began to permanently vary, and they continued to vary until all sight of the originals was lost. Indeed, nothing more curiously, yet unerringly, marks the emergence of the Christian princes from the position of vassals to that of independent monarchs than the open, flagitious, and radical alteration, debasement, and degradation of the coinage which began in all parts of Europe after the fall of Constantinople, and which, unlike all previous alterations, parted completely from the original Roman standards and never returned to them.

In all its aspects money is the most certain indication of sovereignty, but in none of them so absolutely as in the practical and continued assertion of the principle that that is money which the State declares to be money. This principle was asserted by the ancient Commonwealth, preserved by Paulus, and enshrined forever in the Digest of the Civil Law. It was practically observed and employed by every sovereign of the Empire, but, until the downfall of that Empire, by no other prince of Christendom; then, like all the other prerogatives left by the defunct Basileus, this one was assumed by the princes who had shaken off his ancient but dishonoured claims of suzerainty, and we first hear of it in England during the reign of Edward III.<sup>1</sup>

If we turn from the prerogatives of the Basileus to those of the pope, to mark the end, as we have already marked the beginning and progress, of those practical

<sup>1</sup> Plowden's "Com.," p. 316; Polydore Vergil, Parl. Rolls, 21 Edward III, fol. 60; Chief Justice Hale's opinion in "State Trials," ii, p. 114.



assertions of sovereignty which constitute the birth of the independent monarchy of England, we shall find it in 1366, the fortieth year of the glorious reign of Edward III. In that year it was ordered that Peter's-pence should no more be gathered in England nor paid to Rome.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cooper's "Chronicle," fol. 245; Stowe, p. 461; Fabian's "Chron." of Edward III, in Nicholson's "Hist. Lit."; Statute, 25 Henry VIII, c. 21 (1533); Ruding, ii, p. 205.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### HISTORY OF MONEY IN SAXONY AND SCANDINAVIA.

Fish, vadmál, baugs, and coins—Ratio—The mark—Imitations of Roman coins—The pagan Hansa—Charlemagne—The Christian Hansa—Great fair of Novgorod—Ruric—Harold Hårdrade—Christian II—The tyrant's "klippings"—Massacre of Protestants—Mons—Gustavus Vasa—"Klippings" of freedom—Marks, talents, and dalers—Private coinage—Rundstyks—Copper plates—Assignats—Transport notes—Bank of Stockholm—Goertzdalers, or mynt-saicen—State notes—Banks of Copenhagen—Inconvertible notes—Silver dalers—Demonetisation of silver—Gold "standard" of 1872.

**A**NCIENT Saxony consisted of the southern shores of the Baltic and North Seas. It was situated between Germany and the ocean. Its inhabitants were Goths, that is to say, a mixture of the Sacæ and the native tribes whom they had conquered, and with whom they had amalgamated. Their original seat of government was Vinet or Julin. In the eighth century the Goths were destroyed or dispersed by Charlemagne. Those who survived an almost exterminating war, escaped for the most part to the Cimbrian and Norwegian peninsulars, where they united the fylkis, and founded new kingdoms. The principal ones were Danmark, Gotland, Upsala, and Halgoland, now called Denmark, Sweden and Norway. Collectively these are known as Scandinavia.<sup>1</sup>

In very early ages, and in later ages among the more remote, isolated, or primitive communities of ancient Saxony and Scandinavia fish, cattle, vadmál, and linen-cloth were used as money; but as society became more numerous and its affairs more complicated, the equity of

<sup>1</sup> Scanda was the name of a Getic city in Colchis, and Scandea that of a Getic seaport at the extremity of Cythera, a large island off the southern coast of Greece. Pausanias in "Laconics," p. 23.

exchanges, rentals, and heritages demanded a measure of value more refined than commodities ; and this—as appeared in the customs and institutes of China and India to the eastward, and Greece and Rome to the southward, with all of which States the Goths were in communication—was money. The earliest moneys found in Saxony and Scandinavia are coins of Tyre and Sidon. After these come native baugs and Greek and Roman coins. Between the era of baugs and the ninth century the Goths were obliged to use foreign moneys, and they often compelled captured cities to strike coins for them.<sup>1</sup> During this period they successively used five classes of moneys, only two of which were of native fabrication. First, native baugs ; second, oriental coins ; third, Greek and Roman coins ; fourth, native and rude imitations of Roman coins. For example, a Gothic imitation of a Roman imperial gold coin was found with a skeleton at Aareslen, in Odense, amt Fyen, an island about 86 miles from Copenhagen ; while a similar imitation of a Byzantine coin of the fifth century was found at Mallgard, in Gotland.<sup>2</sup> Fifth, moslem coins of the seventh and eighth centuries, of which immense numbers have been found all over Scandinavia and the shores of the Baltic, from Esthonia to the Netherlands. It is possible there was a sixth class, silver sterlings, struck in Saxony before the Carlovingian period ; but there are none in the British Museum collection nor in the collections of Paris, Copenhagen, or Christiania.<sup>3</sup>

Baug means literally a ring or bracelet. In the former sense the term is still used in France ; in the latter

<sup>1</sup> Thompson's "Social Science," p. 157.    <sup>2</sup> Du Chaillu, i, pp. 262, 275.

<sup>3</sup> The Gothic kings struck coins in Spain from the Roman to the moslem period, that is to say, from A.D. 411 to 711. Other Gothic kings struck coins in England from Ethelbert II, to Harold, that is to say, from A.D. 748 to 1066. Specimens of all these coins are extant ("Ancient Britain," chap. xix). Under such circumstances it is difficult to believe that the Goths of the Baltic struck no coins before the Carlovingian era ; yet this is what some numismatists maintain.

sense it is retained in the bangles of India. Baugs were used as money in the Northern lands at a very remote date. They were mentioned by Cæsar as being in use when he landed in Britain; and they have been found in graves of apparently a far higher date. On the other hand, they continued in use long after coins were introduced, and only disappeared when the superior efficiency of the latter, as a measure of value, was universally recognised, or else when the use of the former was forbidden. As baugs thus passed from use as money, they were employed as relics and ornaments—a circumstance which appears quite plainly when the texts of the sagas are examined with attention.

Egil, having been paid two chests of silver as indemnity for his brother's life, returned thanks in a song, in which he calls the indemnity a "gul-baug."<sup>1</sup> In this passage "gul" cannot mean, as "argentum" did in Latin and "argent" does in French, money generally, because it is coupled with "baug"; nor can it mean gold money, because it was actually paid in silver. It can only mean a money payment, that perhaps was once made with gold-baugs, and was now commuted with silver coins, of which a "chest" was a known number.

"If a leudr-man wounds another he has to pay 12 baugr, each of 12 aurar, valued in silver."<sup>2</sup> Twelve aurar to the baug is an alteration of rather low date. Aurar was the name of the Gothic ounce weight of 450 English grains, derived from the weight of a "libra" of gold, or five Roman aureii, of the time of Caracalla to Probus. It was also the Gothic name of a gold coin, the *sicilicus*, or *skilling*, containing from 30 down to 16 grains. Still later it became the name of a Gothic silver coin, eight times the weight of the gold one. Du Chaillu (i, p. 549) regards the aurars mentioned in the last passage as weights. If they were, it would follow that the

<sup>1</sup> Egil's saga; Du Chaillu, ii, pp. 16, 476-7.

<sup>2</sup> "Frothstathing Law," iv, p. 53.



ndemnity for wounding a man was equal to 18 marks weight of silver, which at the period of this law would have been a preposterous penalty. They are far more likely to have meant gold skillings, payable in silver coins.

“Olaf II, (1015-28,) went southward across the sea from North Britain or Norway to the continent), and defeated the vikings before Williamsby. He captured Gunnvaldsborg, in Seljopollar, and laid ransom on it and the jarl of twelve thousand gull skillingar. This was paid by the town.”<sup>1</sup>

Gold baugr have been found at Baugstrop, with Roman coins of the third and fourth centuries—a circumstance that marks the contemporaneous use of baugs with Roman imperial coins.<sup>2</sup> Some of the baugs found in graves consist of small spiral rings, strung upon a large loop, like keys upon a modern key-ring. If the spiral rings were used as money, the loop was probably the “silver aurar.” But I am inclined to believe that these particular baugs were not money.

In the following passage the baug was evidently used for sacerdotal or ceremonial purposes: “Egil fastened a baug on each arm of the dead Throlf, and then buried him.”<sup>3</sup> “A baug was paid for a bride.”<sup>4</sup> King Olaf the Holy (A.D. 993-98) sent a large gold baug from England to Queen Sigrid in Sweden. He wanted to marry her. She had the ring broken, and found that the inside consisted of brass.<sup>5</sup> This was the same Olaf who is said to have established Christianity in Norway, and who helped Sveyn to conquer Northumbria.

Although the Goths employed moneys so diverse, as are shown in the five classes stated above, they accorded to them a valuation (as between the gold and silver ones), which was peculiarly their own; and as in this valuation,

<sup>1</sup> St. Olaf's saga, c. 16; Du Chaillu, ii, p. 485.

<sup>2</sup> Du Chaillu, i, 245.

<sup>3</sup> Egil's saga.

<sup>4</sup> “Frostathing,” vi, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> “Olaf Trygvæson,” pp. 65-6.

and its connection with passages in the sagas, there are locked up many precious fragments of a buried history; it is worth while to explain it at length.

What the Romans called a *feira*, or fair, the Goths of Holmgard and Iestland called a *merk*, or market, possibly from *mir*, a community, the term being still used in Russia.<sup>1</sup> Gatherings by this name were held in villages once a week, when the people came together and exchange their produce and wares. At these markets very little or no money was employed. At the great fairs, which were held once a year—for example, at Novgorod Veleki—traders came from the most distant regions, from China, India, Mikliardi (Constantinople), Lombardi, Gaulland, Angleland, Frakkland, Saxland, Gotland, Heligoland, Vinet, and Iestland. “Lodin, a Norwegian trader, was once at a market in Eistland.”<sup>2</sup> At these fairs money was the necessary medium of exchange; and the most important question to be settled in respect of money was the ratio of value between gold and silver coins, for this is where the utmost diversity existed among the various peoples who brought their goods to the merk. During the four centuries which preceded the Gothic revolt against Rome—that is to say from Sylla to Carausius—the orientals valued gold at about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  times its weight in silver, the Persians at 13 times, the Greeks at 10 times, and the Romans (from the time of Julius Cæsar) at 12 times. Possibly for the reason that it was a convenient mean between these various ratios the Goths of the third century adopted the ratio of eight for one; in other words, gold coins were to pass current for eight times their weight of silver ones. The Roman libra of this period consisted of five gold aurei, each of 90 English grains. Hence, i

<sup>1</sup> The term merk is still used by the Scots. In their ancient scale of moneys there were 2 doits (fingers) to a boodle, 2 boodles to a plack, 3 placks to a bawbee, and  $13\frac{1}{3}$  bawbees, or 160 doits, to the merk.

<sup>2</sup> “Olaf Trygvæson,” p. 58. The Flateyrbok contains an animated description of the Great Fair at Novgorod (“Anc. Brit.,” c. xix note 26).

contained 450 English grains of gold, and the libra of silver  $12 \times 450 = 5,400$  English grains of silver. At the Gothic ratio of 8 for 1, it only required 3,600 grains weight of silver in merk money to pay off a Roman libra of account, and hence it was that this quantity of silver coins came to be known as a merk, or mark.

If we have correctly indicated the origin and significance of this interesting term, the equivalents employed at the great fairs of the Baltic cities during the dark ages were as follows, the integer being the mark of silver coins, weighing about 3,600 grains, the origin of the Saxon mark weight of a subsequent age, but as yet only a sum of money. In this system there were eight silver saigas to the ortugar; 4 ortugars to the ora; 2 oras to the eyrir; and 4 eyrirs to the mark.<sup>1</sup>

At a subsequent period there were 6 bronze penningen to the silver penningar, and 10 silver penningen to the ortugar; but with these and other variations we have at present no concern. As for the relation of the mark and eyrir there is some uncertainty.<sup>2</sup> There was also a coin called a thveit, but its value has not been ascertained.<sup>3</sup>

A few words here to those numismatists who still linger in the exploded belief that the names of moneys are derived from weights. The mark of money was traced by Agricola (A.D. 1550) to the earliest annals of the Cimbrian peninsular; the Roman libra of five solidi is defined in the Theodosian Code, and is mentioned by authors of a much earlier period. It was Elagabalus who ordered all the tributes to be collected in aureii, or else in silver coins of equal value, which, as the law then stood, meant twelve times their weight. The ratio of 14.40 for 1 in the reign of Theodosian, deduced by Rome de Lisle, Boeckh, and other metrologists, is a blunder, based on a

<sup>1</sup> "German Law," vi, 13; "Bavarian Law," ix, 3, 4; De Vienne, *Livre d'Argent*"; Du Chaillu, "Viking Age," ii, p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> "The eyrir of gold" is mentioned in the Egil saga, c. 7. Compare Du Chaillu, ii, pp. 13, 58 n, 216.

<sup>3</sup> Du Chaillu, ii, p. 238.

wrong reading of the Code, and the modern delusion that a libra always meant a pound weight, which was no more true in the time of Theodosius than it is now. The gold *sicilicus*, or little *solidus*, which, toward the end of its career contained about sixteen grains, and was indicated by the middle of term of £. s. d., was struck by Justinian, and specimens are now in the Madrid collection. Indeed, we are assured by Father Mariana that it was struck at a much earlier date, when, of course, it weighed something more. He speaks of some of these earlier *sicilici* in his own collection.

Returning to the mark of the Baltic, if we include the whole period of the dark and middle ages, its weight varied in different places from about 3,800 to 3,200 grains, according to the date when the mark was adopted; in other words, according to the fineness of the baugs or coins employed to make up the sum of a mark. As this was to consist of 3,600 grains of silver in baugs or coins equal in fineness to gold standard, and as the Roman gold standard of the third century was  $\frac{37}{40}$  fine, it followed that whenever coins fell below this standard they had to be increased in number to make up the Gothic mark of money. This circumstance accounts for the variation in the mark weights of England, Cologne, Holland, Scandinavia, Iestland and Novgorod. The mark weights which are of less than 3,600 grains—as are those of Castile, Stockholm, Riga, Königsberg, etc.—are the progeny, not of early debased coins, but of subsequently degraded weights.

The coins found at Aarleslen and Mallgard are not the only examples of Gothic or Saxon imitations. Moulds for making false Roman coins, and the coins with them, have been found beneath King William Street, London; at Lingwell Gate, in Yorkshire; at Edington, in Somersetshire; at Ruyton and Wroxeter, in Shropshire; at Castor, in Northamptonshire; at Epernay, in France; and, at other places. Some of these may have been of Roman



fabrication, while others were Gothic. The earliest ones mentioned imitated the coins of Claudius; the latest, those of Constantius. Gothic imitations of the coins of Louis Debonnaire have been found in the Netherlands.

The monkish chronicles represent the Goths as being always pirates and destroyers, but the security and prosperity of Vinet, Julin, Bardewic, Luneburg, and other Gothic cities; the great fairs of Holmgard, Gardariki, Eistland, Saxony, and Denmark; the organisation of the pagan Hansa, which—centuries before the establishment of the Christian Hansa—monopolised the maritime commerce of northern and western Europe; and many other circumstances, prove the contrary. The following incident, which relates to the terrible invasion of Attila (A.D. 450), indicates that the Goths, at all events at this period, were anything but savage people, for it alludes with horror to the cruelties of the Huns. It is from the Volsunga saga, one of the oldest Norse scriptures still extant.

“ King Atli (Attila) tortured his prisoners at the stake. . . . He cut out the thrall’s heart, because he would not tell where the gold was. . . . Then he cut out the heart of Hogni, who smiled as he underwent the torture. . . . They showed the heart to King Gunnar (Gondicar I, the Gothic king of Burgundy), who said: ‘ I know where the gold is, but the Rhine shall keep it sooner than the Huns shall wear it on their arms. . . . Atli, mayst thou fare as ill as thou didst keep faith with me!’ ” How strangely this reads like the dying curse of Montezuma’s brother, whom Cortez coldly put to death at Shrovetide in 1525, for precisely the same offence! This was because he would not, or could not, disclose the gold hoards or mines for which the Spanish adventurer thirsted. “ Oh, Malinché (Cortez), it is long that I have known the falseness of your words, and have foreseen that you would award me that death which, alas! I did not give myself when I surrendered to you in my city of Mexico. Wherefore do you slay me without justice? May God demand it of you!”

Whatever development of civilisation was attained by the Goths and other Saxon tribes of the Baltic, it was cut down, root and branch, by the mighty arm of Rome wielding the zealous sword of Charlemagne. Between A.D. 768 and 800 this bigot destroyed hundreds of thousands of the Saxon race, transported vast numbers of the survivors to Upper Germany, filled their places with Germans, levelled their cities—including Vinet, Julin, Bardewic, and Luneburg—almost to the dust, and drove their commerce to Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia, Britain, Ireland, and even to Iceland. The exterminating wars which the Western Empire waged against Gothic Saxony explain an otherwise insoluble problem of history. Why are there no Norwegian or Swedish regal coins before the epoch of Charlemagne? Because these countries had no kings. The seat of Ivan Vidfami's power was Eistland or Austriki. It was from this centre that, in the fifth century, the Norse fleets ravaged the coasts and began or extended their conquests in Saxony, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Britain, France, and Spain; and it is with the saigas of Eistland that we must begin our researches into Scandinavian monetary history. The list of Norse kings from Odin to the Skol-konungs of the eighth century are purely fanciful. Jarls and fylki-konungs and vikings of Sweden and Norway there were in plenty, but we are persuaded that no sovereign existed on the northern peninsula, clothed with independent regal attributes, until the Saxon kings were defeated by Charlemagne, and the seat of Gothic power was removed from the southern to the northern, western, and eastern shores of the Baltic. In the eighth and ninth centuries, Gothic kings, exercising sovereign powers, disappear from Saxony, whilst others spring up all of a sudden in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; the germs of Gothic republics are established in Russia and Iceland; Gothic refugees reinforce the populations of Normandy and Britain; and in all of these countries Gothic coins make their appear-

ance. In Scandinavia this period yields us the earliest coins of local mintage ; in Novgorod we have an issue of Gothic leather money ; in England, where the Goths had often before struck money, they now exhibit us—and that, too, in gold—the pagan coins and moslem legends of Offa ; while in Iceland the Norse colonists went back to the primeval vadmál and fish-money (“ sild ”) of the Saxon coasts. From this period the Saxons disappear from history, and the Scandinavians take their place. Is it not quite evident that these are only two names for the same Gothic people ?

We must now make a short digression in order to trace the origin of the pagan Hanseatic League. Under the hierarchical government of Rome, which began with the semi-mythical Romulus and ended with the overthrow of the Tarquins, all corporations (*collegii*) were chartered by the chief-pontiff. These included both sacerdotal and commercial bodies, such as the *Fratres Ambarvales*, the *Luperci*, and the trade guilds of Numa. In B.C. 306, the Senate, which had now become republican, forbade the formation of any new sacerdotal communities, and abolished all commercial corporations, new or old. In B.C. 59, when the republic was about to expire, and upon the motion of P. Clodius, provisions were made for the re-establishment and increase of corporations by the Senate—a power, of which, under the hierarchy erected by Julius Cæsar, that ambitious body was afterwards entirely deprived. This power was now again, as in the ancient times, vested in the sovereign-pontiff, and it continued to be exercised by that functionary from B.C. 47 to A.D. 1204, when the long line of Roman hierarchs was broken by the fall of Constantinople. Among the numerous commercial corporations whose remains attest the exercise of this power by the sovereign-pontiff of Rome are the *Navicularii* of Alexandria and the *Nautæ* of Paris, both of them companies of maritime adventure. But far more important than these, or any other corporations of ancient or

mediæval times, was the Hansa established at a very early epoch by the pagan Goths, chartered—or more properly licensed—by the Basileus in the fifth or sixth century; greatly damaged by Charlemagne and his successors during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, and finally destroyed by the papal forces and superseded by the Christian Hanseatic League in the twelfth or thirteenth century. As the Christian Hansa was the earliest trade corporation chartered by or under the authority of the Latin Christian pontiffs, and as all the so-called ancient trade-guilds of the present time came into existence soon afterwards, and by virtue of the same sacerdotal authority, it is worth while to rescue from the oblivion into which they have fallen the scant chronicles and remains of the once powerful pagan Hansa, upon whose ashes were planted this crop of Christian companies, the progenitors, in turn, of an entire forest of modern commercial corporations. The word “han” is Mongolian, and means a corporation, guild, company, or association; “hansa” is the Latin form of it. Concerning the origin of the Hansa we have no explicit information, but it may have existed when Cæsar broke up the commercial emporium of the Veneti, which he discovered at the mouth of the Loire, and who sent to their colleagues in Britain and the Netherlands for assistance against his attacks.<sup>1</sup> Two centuries later than this there was a trading station at Scandea, in the island of Cythera, south of the Morea. From its Gothic name, the quarrel its people had with the king of Pontus, where the Veneti formerly dwelt, the fact that it was inhabited by a community of foreigners as well as Delians—and of foreigners, too, who were famous sailors and merchants—as well as from other circumstances, Scandea appears to have been an emporium of the Veneti.<sup>2</sup>

The earliest positive information concerning the pagan Hansa is furnished by Werdenhagen, who informs us that, ages before the establishment of the Christian Hansa, there

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar, “De Bell. Gall.,” iii, c. 9.      <sup>2</sup> Pausanius, “Laconics,” 23.



existed a number of confederated commercial cities on the shores of the Baltic and North Seas, and upon the lower banks of the rivers that empty into them, including the Volkof, Dwina, Memel, Vistula, Oder, Elbe, Aller, Ems, Iessel, Rhine, and Weser: that among these cities were Dantzic (Danes-wic) Julin, Vinet, Bardewic (Bhadrewic), Munster, Dortmund, Nimeguen, Tiel and Deventer, and that the confederacy included such distant places as Novgorod and Cologne; that all these cities practised freedom of trade; and that they were all destroyed or conquered, and their inhabitants put to the sword, or banished, to make room for a Christian Hansa, that was substituted in its place. Julin is described by Adam of Bremen, writing about 1080, as the richest city in Europe. Helmoldus says the same. Meursius calls it the capital of the Vandals, and Gibbon says that the Vandals were Goths. Vinet is described by Helmoldus. Bardewic stood about a mile north of Luneburg. Both of these cities were captured and sacked by Charlemagne, and their inhabitants slaughtered or driven away. In the twelfth century these cities were finally destroyed—Vinet in 1127, Bardewic and Luneburg in 1137, Julin in 1140. Within half a century of this time the Christian Hansa, chartered by the pope, slipped into the place of its pagan predecessor, absorbed its trade, and divided its profits.<sup>1</sup>

Let us now visit the great annual fair or merk of Novgorod, shortly after Ruric made that city his seat of government. Let us rehabilitate the moneys of the pagan Hansa, and read the tablet upon which was inscribed, in Gothic runes, the value of the various moneys then current in the Baltic. The weights are in English grains. The standard at this period was that of the Arabian coins.<sup>2</sup> The scale of equivalents was 4 ortugar = 1 ora; and 8 oras = 1 mark. There were probably 3 saigas to the ortugar.

<sup>1</sup> "Ancient Britain," ch. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> For details of which see "Money and Civilisation," p. 20.

*Conjectural Moneys of Novgorod; ninth century.*

	Mark : Gold, 240 grs.	Ora : Gold, 30, or Silver, 240 grs.	Ortugar : Silver, 60 grs.	Saiga : Silver, 22½ grs.
<i>Gold Moneys.</i>				
Chinese slug, weight $8\frac{1}{3}$ tael . . . . .	20	—	—	—
Indian dharana, 130 to 120 grs. . . . .	—	4	—	—
Old Roman solidus, 90 grs. . . . .	—	3	—	—
Later Roman solidus, 72 grs. . . . .	—	2	1	2
Triente, 24 grs. . . . .	—	—	3	—
Siciliens, 18 grs. . . . .	—	—	2	1
Siciliens, 16 grs. . . . .	—	—	2	—
Moslem dinar, 65 grs. . . . .	—	2	0	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Quarter dinar, 16 grs. . . . .	—	—	2	—
Gothic baug (Du Chaillu, i, p. 549) . . . . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$	—	—	—
<i>Silver Moneys.</i>				
Indian siccal, $84\frac{1}{2}$ grs. . . . .	—	—	1	1
Dirhem : Tahir-bin-Al Husain (A.H. 205) <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	—	—	—	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Roman denarius (old) . . . . .	—	—	1	—
Roman denarius, Elagabalus . . . . .	—	—	—	2
Dirhem : Bagdad, or Cordova, 43 grs. <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	—	—	—	2
Half-dirhem, or Iesterling . . . . .	—	—	—	1
Silver baug . . . . .	—	$1\frac{1}{2}$	—	—
Ortugar (Law of Upland, 1296) . . . . .	—	—	1	—
Christian penning, $22\frac{1}{2}$ grs. sterling standard . . . . .	—	—	—	1
Christian penning, degraded, 14 grs., fine . . . . .	—	—	—	$\frac{2}{3}$
Christian penning, debased, $7\frac{1}{2}$ grs., fine . . . . .	—	—	—	$\frac{1}{3}$

<sup>1</sup> Phayre's "Coins of Burnah," Num. Orient., Bengal.<sup>2</sup> The moslems reckoned 10 dirhems to one dinar, a ratio of  $6\frac{1}{2}$ . The Goths reckoned 12 dirhems to the dinar. <sup>a</sup>

Besides these moneys the paper notes of Heentsung, A.D. 807, the leather notes of Edgar, king of Wessex, and of Ruric of Novgorod, also porcelain coins of Thibet and Siam, were probably seen at this fair ; but we have no accounts of them. There was also probably employed at this fair, as we know there was at the fairs of Baldwin III, in Flanders, a system of clearings called "permutation," by which purchases and sales were offset by debits and credits, only the balances of which were settled in money.<sup>1</sup>

Specimens of nearly all the coins mentioned in the above table have been found in Saxony or Scandinavia. The finds of moslem coins number tens of thousands, the earliest being those of Abd-el-Melik (A.D. 684-705), and the latest of Al Kader (1010). At this period the moslems had mastered India. Coins of Abd-el-Melik, Hacham (724-43), Walid II (743-4), Merwan II (744-50), Abbas (750-4), Al Mansur (754-75), and Al Mahdi (775-85), together with others, have been found near Christiania, and one coin of the last-named caliph, together with several other moslem coins, at Eker, between Königsberg and Drammen. A gold coin of Haroun-al-Raschid (786-809), besides several other gold and silver moslem coins, were found at Teisen Tundet, near Christiania, and are now in the museum at that place, where I personally inspected them in 1892. More than twenty thousand moslem coins have been found in Gotland and elsewhere in Sweden, some of them struck by the caliphs of Spain.<sup>2</sup> The choicest of these, together with some specimens of the porcelain coins of Thibet and Siam, are in the Christiania collection. None of the leather or paper moneys alluded to in the table are known to exist at the present day.

From the period of Ruric (A.D. 862), whom the moslems called a Frank or a Feringhese, and the Greeks a Varangian, a new era began for Scandinavia. In Norway

<sup>1</sup> "Annales Flandriæ," Anno 958; "Middle Ages Revisited," ch. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> L. B. Stenerson.

Harold Härfager (865–933) united the jarldoms and established the kingdom; although, in consequence of the conversion of Olaf Trygvæson (995–8), a civil war afterwards ensued, and Norway was divided (A.D. 1000) between Denmark (whose king had accepted Christianity) and Sweden, which had not. Under Canute (1014–35) Norway formed part of his united realms of Denmark, England, and Norway, and under Magnus it again became a sole kingdom.

After the death of Gotfried by poison in 819, Denmark was awarded by the pope to Harold, who had been baptised at the Court of Louis le Debonnaire; but the Danes do not seem to have been disposed to accept a Christian king until nearly two centuries later.

Like Norway, Sweden was ruled by petty fylkings, until Biorn united them under one crown and Eric Arsell (993–1001) acquired part of Norway. Thus, in the three Scandinavian kingdoms there existed a peculiar interval, which began in Denmark with Gotfried, in Sweden with Biorn, and in Norway with Harold Härfager, and ended in all of them with the plunder of the temple at Upsala by Hakon Jarl and the definitive establishment of Christianity in the eleventh century.<sup>1</sup> During this interval all the Scandinavian states united their petty rulers, and became sole kingdoms; they were freed from the evils of divided government, though as yet they were strangers to the trammels of Rome. They were devoted to traffic, and possessed an emporium in the powerful republic of Novgorod, through which passed a lucrative commerce with the Orient. “Who can resist the gods and Novgorod?” ran an exultant proverb of the period. But with the termination of this interval, the Hansa, which before the Carlovingian era possessed emporia or staples at every port of northern and western Europe, was restricted to those only which adhered to the pagan religion; for

<sup>1</sup> Hakon Jarl (who had been baptised in Denmark) plundered the great temple in Gotland and got much property. *Jomsviking saga*, ch. i.



the Christians refused it all accommodation. Thus, in the tenth century the Hanseatic commerce was confined, first, to the Scandinavian states, which being comparatively poor and sparsely populated could take but little of it; second, to some of the French, English, and Irish ports; and third, to moslem Spain. This last was its chief dependence. In the eleventh century, as Christianity was introduced into the northern Courts (the first Christian pennies known to have been struck in Norway were those of Harold Hårdrade (1047-66), the trade of the pagan Hansa was almost exclusively with Spain. The civil wars in which that country was involved during the minority of Hachem II, greatly injured the trade of the Hansa. Mahomet ben Hachem and other usurpers mounted the throne of Cordova; the city was taken and retaken several times; the aid of Christian princes was invoked by both parties, and always with loss of territory. By the middle of the eleventh century the sun of the Omeiads went down, and the prosperous epoch of the Spanish Arabs came to an end.<sup>1</sup> This was the death-blow to the Gothic Hansa. It lost its remaining emporia in the west. It might buy, but it could no longer sell. Except as to the now distracted kingdoms of Cordova and Granada, Christianity had built a commercial wall around the whole of Europe, within which no pagan was permitted to trade. So the great ships of the Norsemen folded their wings and retired to the Baltic, while the pagan league of the Hansa underwent the process of christianisation, and fitted itself for a new career. The profits of the Hansa offered to the mediæval church a powerful lever of evangelisation. During the interval following the civil wars in Spain, and before the earliest mention of the Christian Hansa (A.D. 1140), occurred the definitive conversion of all the Gothic sovereigns to Christianity; in Sweden Ingo I, in Norway Harold Hårdrade, and in Denmark Waldemar I; though judging

<sup>1</sup> Calcott's "History of Spain," ch. vii.

from the tone of some of their letters to the pope, the Norsemen accepted the new dispensation with no little distrust of Rome.<sup>1</sup> Christianity is said to have been introduced into the whole "empire," including Novgorod, by Vladimir (him of the 800 wives and 12 sons) in the year 989; but the fratricidal wars between the sons of Yaroslov render it all but certain that, at least so far as Novgorod and Kief are concerned, those great trading centres did not accept it until about the period of the fall of Constantinople. By the middle of the thirteenth century the process of christianisation was completed. Kings, people, shipping, wore a new crown, a new dress, a new flag. One more reform remained to be accomplished. The Jews, who had officiated as go-betweens in the commerce of the old Hansa and the earlier commerce of the new Hansa with Spain, were no longer needed. Accordingly some few thousands of them were slaughtered in the streets of London and Paris, and the rest banished to moslem Spain—or to Hades. When these middlemen were quite disposed of, prices advanced and trade became far more profitable.

The earliest coins imputed to the kings of Sweden are the silver pieces of Biorn, A.D. 818, which imitated those of Charlemagne even to the cross stamped upon them, although Biorn was not a Christian.<sup>2</sup> The next earliest moneys of the North appear to have been the leather-notes of Ruric, 862-79.<sup>3</sup> Between this date and the reign of Olaf Trygvæson of Norway we continue to read of fairs. There, money must have been employed,<sup>4</sup> but no

<sup>1</sup> Waldemar, King of Denmark, to the Bishop of Rome, greeting (this was Gregory XI. who had threatened him with excommunication): "We hold our life from God, our kingdom from our subjects, our riches from our parents, and our faith from thee, the which if thou wilt not grant it to us any longer we do by these presents resign. Farewell." Boulainvilliers, "Life of Mahomet," p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Humphreys "Coin Manual," p. 529.

<sup>3</sup> "Money and Civilisation," p. 294.

<sup>4</sup> See the Flateyrbok and the Faerynga and Olaf Trygvæson sagas (ch. v).

native coins ascribed to this period appear in the public collections, at all events, not in those of Christiania, Paris, or London. About the date of the battle of Brunanburgh, Ethelstan, or Ethelred, is said to have offered Olaf a skilling for every plough in his kingdom, if he would make peace.<sup>1</sup> This skilling I take to have been the quarter-dinar of about 16 grains.

There are no Christian coins of Norway until Hakon Jarl, who appears to have conveyed the plunder of Upsala to England, for the "pennies" which he struck from it, and of which Rome received its share as Peter's pence, bear the names of Anglo-Saxon moneyers.<sup>2</sup> Nor, as before stated, are there any native Christian coins until Harold Hårdrade. These circumstances offer an emphatic contradiction to the monkish story of the conversion of Norway by Olaf Trygvæson, for the Roman religion and monetary system always went hand in hand. It is not denied that Olaf himself may have been converted, nor that he committed the cruelties with which he is said to have punished those who refused to accept his new religion; but it is held that the evidence of the coins and the nomenclature of moneys both go to prove that paganism was still the religion of the people. This numismatic evidence is supported by other circumstances. Olaf's son, Olaf II, was expelled from the kingdom by

<sup>1</sup> Egil saga. The period of this transaction was about that of the battle of Brunanburgh (Northumberland), A.D. 937. The skilling here mentioned was probably the quarter-dinar of  $16\frac{1}{4}$  grains. This same Ethelred paid more than 167,000 "pounds of silver" as danegeld (Du Chaillu, ii, p. 222). Some commentators regard this to mean 167,000 pounds weight of silver bullion. Dr. Henry (Notes, 18), with more reason, makes it £167,000 money. But it is useless to conjecture what it means until we know the date when (assuming the statement to be true) the phrase "pounds of silver" was translated from its original terms.

<sup>2</sup> Greijer. The Ynlinga saga informs us that for a time the tax of Rome scat was collected from the people "for Odin." Very likely. But it is pretty safe to conclude that, unless he lived in Rome, Odin never got any of it.

Canute in 1028 and killed in 1030. After Olaf's expulsion Canute reigned until 1029, and after him reigned his son Sveyn, 1030-35, both of them christian but anti-papal kings. In 1036 Magnus I, the natural son of Olaf II, and a *protégé* of Rome, was awarded the kingdom of Denmark and Norway by the Papal See. In 1046 Harold Hårdrade took the kingdom, invaded England, and entered York. After Harold's defeat at Stanford Bridge in 1066 his son, Olaf III, with Magnus II, became joint kings of Norway, and in the following year Hakon became king of Sweden. In 1069 Olaf III, became sole king of Norway, and it was not until the reign of his contemporary, Ingo I, of Sweden, that the great pagan temple at Upsala was destroyed, about 1075, and Christianity definitely though not yet universally established in that country.<sup>1</sup> Nor was it until 1152 that, taking advantage of the dissensions between Magnus IV, and Harold, the Papal See succeeded in establishing an arch-bishopric at Trondheim in Norway. Nor again was it until after two centuries of civil wars, during which the history of that country is written only with the sword, the bludgeon, and the torch, that Christianity was universally established under Magnus VI, the Legislator. The intimate racial, religious, political, and dynastic connection between the states of the Gothic peninsular, render it highly improbable that either of them adopted the new religion much before the other. Sweden could not have been entirely evangelised, whilst Norway was shedding its blood in the played-out cause of Odin; nor Norway have been a Christian state, so long as pagan sacrifices smoked upon the polluted altars of Upsala.<sup>2</sup>

In the ninth century the Scandinavian mark of money contained 240 grains of gold, or 1920 grains of silver; in

<sup>1</sup> "Ancient Britain," xiv, p. 5. Adam of Bremen described the temple of Upsala as being roofed with gold and filled with the greatest riches (Du Chaillu).

<sup>2</sup> During the pagan era Upsala was the name for all Sweden. It sounds curiously like the Ober-saala or Ober-icssel of the Low Countries.



the thirteenth century, reign of Magnus VI, there were no gold marks, whilst the silver mark only contained about 1200 grains. At the ratio which prevailed on the Continent these were worth 100 grains, whilst in Scandinavia they were valued at 150 grains, of gold. In the reign of Magnus VII (Smek), 1319-43, a mark weight of silver was coined into five marks of money, and half-a-mark was deducted for seigniorage. If this was fine silver, each mark contained 720 grains, or about the quantity in two American or Mexican dollars of the present day; but I am inclined to believe that all these quantities were of standard metal. During this reign copper coins were first employed in Norway, and toward the close of it even leather money was introduced, each piece studded with a silver rivet. The device of leather money had been carried from Novgorod to England, where Edgar of Wessex, 959-75, made use of it; from England to Norway, where it was employed in 988 by Olaf I; from Norway to France, where it was used by Philip I, 1060-1108; and from France to Sicily, where similar money was issued by William the Bad, 1154-66. It now again served to sustain for a time the feeble resources of Norway: "*Coriaria pecunia certis argenteis punctis quibus valor in pondere et numero pensavetur variata.*"<sup>1</sup> But the State was exhausted and nothing could at present revive it. In 1379 Norway struck her last coin.<sup>2</sup> Then she lost her national autonomy, and dropped into the lap of Margaret, queen of Denmark. From this time forward until the epoch of Gustavus Vasa, Norway ceased to be an independent state.

The early history of the coinage of Sweden differs but little from that of Norway. Both of these states were erected by "Saxons," who sought a refuge from the

<sup>1</sup> Olaus Magnus, vii (?), ch. xii, in Greijer's "History of Sweden," p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Humphreys.

exterminating wars of Charlemagne; both of them had thriven upon the profits of the Hansa, and both of them declined when the Hansa fell under the control of Rome. As if to render this decline the more rapid, both countries were overrun with a horde of Roman priests, who fastened themselves like vampires upon every source of revenue, including the silver mines. They reduced the bondr to slavery,<sup>1</sup> worked them in the mines,<sup>2</sup> incited the leudrmen to civil war, usurped their estates, and amused themselves by destroying or defacing the runic monuments, altering the sagas, and inventing a fabulous history for the country which had so generously filled their stomachs and wallets. For venturing to question the right of the Roman priesthood to the estates which they had stolen from the lords, their elected king, Charles VIII (Canutson), was solemnly excommunicated at high mass by John, Archbishop of Upsala, assisted by six Swedish bishops and the rest of the clergy. "Then they went out of the church to commence a civil war, which lasted seven years," and which ended with the defeat of Charles and the triumph of their champion, John of Denmark.<sup>3</sup>

In 1396, during the reign of Margaret, the mark of money was equal in value to 45 Lubeck skillings,<sup>4</sup> each of which contained about 9·43 grains fine silver, a proof that the mark weight of Denmark was coined during this reign into  $8\frac{1}{2}$  marks of money. As to the Christian talent of Scandinavia which seems to have originated at this period, it was identical with the money mark, and like that coin it contained about  $424\frac{1}{2}$  grains of fine silver. It was divided into 48 skillings each of 12 pennies. Each skilling therefore contained about 8·843 grains of fine silver. Under Eric VII (the Pomeranian), king of Denmark, also known as Eric XIII, of Sweden (A.D. 1434), the mark weight continued to be coined into  $8\frac{1}{2}$  marks of money. In 1470 what Humphreys regards as half-pennies of silver were first

<sup>1</sup> Voltaire.<sup>2</sup> Greijer.<sup>3</sup> Voltaire.<sup>4</sup> Greiger, p. 61, n.

coined, but it is not safe to accept the denomination of these coins from an author so unfamiliar with Scandinavian monetary law. During the reign of John II (Hans), of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden (1481–1513), were struck the first gold coins since the pagan era. These were of 240, 120, 60, and 30 grains, and were apparently intended to pass for 8, 4, 2, and 1 marks each respectively. They were of the same type (an armed man standing in the waist of a ship) as the gold coins of Edward III, of England. The writer found several specimens of them in the Christiana collection, one in Paris, but none in the London collection.

As in 1509, according to Greijer, a mark weight of silver was coined into  $12\frac{1}{2}$  marks of money, there were about  $288\frac{1}{2}$  grains to the mark. If this conclusion be well founded, and the gold coins were pure, the ratio was 9·6 for one, thus  $288\frac{1}{2} \div 30 = 9\cdot6$ ; but, as coinage metal was used in both cases, and as the gold and silver standards differed, the ratio was intended to be 10 for 1. This agrees with the prevailing ratio of the period in northern Europe generally. I have met with a statement elsewhere that the mark weight of silver in 1509 was coined into 5 marks of money, but I can neither reconcile this with Greijer's statement nor with probability.

We now enter upon a period of great interest in the monetary history of Scandinavia—the period of Gustavus Vasa, the liberator of his country, and the political founder of the Protestant religion. The reign of Christian II. had been signalised by the greatest atrocities. Denmark and Sweden were the earliest to accept the religion of Luther (1517), which at that period consisted of little more than a protest against the avidity, the tyranny, and the impious sacraments (so they were regarded) of Rome; and in 1517 the senate of Sweden, wearied with the exactions and tyranny of Troll, the Roman archbishop of Upsala and the primate of the kingdom, passed a resolution recommending his retirement to a monastery. Whereupon Troll

obtained a bull from the Pope forbidding the execution of their recommendation and annulling their decrees. Not content with this, the vindictive primate prepared for them a fearful vengeance. At his instigation, King Christian, in 1520, invited two bishops, the whole senate of Stockholm, and ninety-four lords, to sup with him at his palace. There, with the Pope's bull in his hand, Troll caused the whole company to be butchered, and the grand prior of St. John of Jerusalem to be ripped open and his heart plucked out. The two monsters (Christian and Troll) concluded their entertainment by ordering a general massacre of the Lutherans without distinction of rank, age, or sex.<sup>1</sup> This abominable act summoned the entire nation to arms, and for a leader and king they elected Gustavus Vasa, the nephew of Charles VIII (Canutson).

At that period the Pope's legate in Denmark was an Italian named Arcemboldi. Such was his avidity that, by the sale of indulgences and other artifices, he managed to squeeze out of the poorest country in Europe nearly "two millions of florins," and was on the point of remitting this plunder to Rome when Christian seized it upon the pretext of needing it to subdue his excommunicated subjects.<sup>2</sup> A further measure of this exemplary monarch was the emission of certain base silver pieces, composed chiefly of copper, and cut with a shears, from which they derived the vulgar name of "Christian's klippings." On the one side was the impress of an armed man, on the other three crowns.<sup>3</sup>

It was at this juncture that Gustavus Vasa appeared upon the scene. The people were impoverished; they were unorganised; they had no firearms;<sup>4</sup> but Christian (who was a tyrant as well as a zealot) and his minister (who was little better than a wild beast) had combined to offer them the grossest indignities and inflict upon them the greatest injuries. These had fired the Gothic blood. It

<sup>1</sup> Voltaire, iv, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Voltaire, iii, p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> Greijer, p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> Voltaire, iii, p. 186.



was not merely Norway and Sweden that rose up to throw off the shackles of Rome, it was all Scandinavia. Lubeck supplied troops and firearms, and the Chersonesus Cimbrica—that is to say, Jutland, or, as it was now called, the Duchy of Schleswick—transmitted to the tyrant of Denmark a demand of deposition which was read to him by a single unarmed man, the chief magistrate of the Jutes, whose act should never be permitted to fall into oblivion. This hero's name was Mons, and it deserves to be written over the gateway of every oppressor. The unlooked-for result of Mons's brave act was the abdication and flight of the cowardly Christian. His uncle Frederick was chosen in his place, and became king of Denmark and Norway; but the real sovereign of Scandinavia was Gustavus Vasa. Him the Swedish senate had elected king; and thenceforth Sweden became an independent kingdom and the centre of Scandinavian political activity.

In conducting the revolution, which was crowned with the liberation of Scandinavia and the establishment of the Protestant religion, Gustavus made avail of the monetary device instituted by Christian. The latter had introduced the klippings for the sake of personal profit; Gustavus issued them for the benefit of his country. Christian issued his klippings in the place of the silver coins of the kingdom, which he obtained by taxation, melted down, and sold to foreigners for his own emolument; Gustavus issued his klippings to sustain the cause of liberty.

And let it be remarked that I am not here advocating a policy, but chronicling an historical fact; all the great enfranchisements of society have been accomplished with the aid of fiduciary money. The Spartans won their liberties with the iron discs of Lycurgus; the Athenians, before the Alexandrian period, rehabilitated the republic with “nomisma,” a highly overvalued copper issue; the Romans overthrew their kings with the aid of overvalued “nummi,” whose emissions were controlled

and regulated by the State, *ex senatus consulto*. The earliest republic in Europe which had the courage to defy the moribund hierarchy of Cæsar was that of Novgorod, whose money was impressed upon leather and, doubtless, issued by the State; the money of the Scandinavian revolution was the "klippings" of Gustavus Vasa, which were issued by the State; the money by the aid of which Gustavus Adolphus saved the Protestant religion from being stamped out by Ferdinand the Catholic was overvalued copper "rundstyks," issued by the State; the money of the Dutch revolution was the pasteboard "dollars" issued by the city of Leyden; of the American revolution, the paper notes issued by the colonial governments; of the French revolution, the "assignats" and "mandats" issued by the National Assembly; and of the anti-slavery war in the United States, "greenbacks." All these moneys were issued and the emissions were controlled by the State. They were not individual notes, nor private bank notes, but essentially State notes. Indeed, the issuance of fiduciary moneys by the State has so commonly attended all social enfranchisements, that the occurrence of one of these events is almost a certain indication of the other. There is a reason for this, a reason that lies upon the surface. When the people take the government of a country into their own hands wealth naturally hides itself, and the first form of wealth to disappear is the precious metals. The moment a revolution or a civil war is declared gold and silver disappear. Thereupon the emission of fiduciary money by the State becomes imperative, or else the revolution runs the risk of immediate failure, for money is needed to purchase subsistence and arms, to pay troops, and generally to carry on the new government.

Such were the klippings of Gustavus Vasa. Greijer says that they were valued in the laws at four times their metallic worth. They were fabricated at Hedemora in 1520, and after having served the objects of the revolu-

tion were decried or repudiated in 1524 without any complaint from the people. Indeed, with these klippings, as with the pasteboard dollars of Leyden, the people preserved them in grateful memory of their liberation.

Before going any further, it becomes necessary for a clear understanding of what follows to trace the mark weight, the mark of money, and the riksdaler, reichthaler, or imperial dollar, from the period of the conjectural Novgorod table to the latest times. In a table printed below, the mark of Ruric is given at 3600 grains. This is adopted because it is an even figure, and agrees with the Anglo-Saxon mark brought to England; but it is more than probable that the mark of this period was, in fact, made to agree with the weights of the Arabian coins, which at that time formed the principal currency of the Baltic, and, therefore, that it weighed some multiple of the dirhem. The Danish and Norwegian common mark is given at 3631·139 grains, and the Danish and Norwegian mint mark at 3607·77455 grains, both by Schmidt's (Tate's) Cambist. The mark of Stockholm is given by Kelly at 4384 Swedish iesen, or 3252 English grains. In the former case I have adopted  $3607\frac{3}{4}$  grains, and in the latter 3250 grains, as sufficiently exact for the mint mark. In the numerous changes of government which have occurred to the Scandinavian States, it is not always easy to determine what weights were used by the mints. In selecting the mark believed to have been used for coinage I have sometimes been guided by the nationality of the issuing sovereign, sometimes by the place of mintage, and sometimes by the actual weights of extant coins; but as these were often of irregular alliage, I am not confident of having been always successful. However, for the purposes of the table referred to, the difference is not important.

The silver talent, or thaler, as shown in the chapter of this work on the Moneys of Germany, was the Roman equivalent in value of a gold solidus, afterwards known as

a ducat. Hence, during the Renaissance, when the ducat contained about  $56\frac{1}{2}$  grains, and in the Ecclesiastical States, where the ratio was 12 for 1, the talent contained about 678 grains, whilst in the Italian Republics (ratio 10 for 1) it contained  $565\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine. Such was originally the contents of the croisat, the scudo, the ducatone, etc., these names and others meaning the same broad piece as the talent. In the Scandinavian States during the fourteenth century, where the ratio was still 8 for 1, the mark of money contained about 450 grains. After the firm establishment of Christianity every effort was made by the Church to eradicate pagan customs and reminiscences. The use of runic letters was forbidden, the names of pagan kings were suppressed, the pagan sagas were revised, and even the popular use of pagan names for moneys discouraged. Hence sild, saicca, styca, thveit, thrimsa, scat, ortugar, and mark successively fell into disuse, or were changed to Christian denominations. It was in this way that the saicca became the penny, the ora was changed into the shilling, and the mark was metamorphosed into the talent. Notwithstanding these measures, it proved so difficult to change the popular names that the word "mark" continued to be stamped on coins so late as the reign of Adolphus Frederick. However, the plan succeeded far enough to destroy the ancient value of all pagan contracts, rentals, revenues, etc., and this indeed may have been the more practical object in view.

Assuming that the substitution of the name "talent" for the "mark" of money was attempted at least as early as the reign of Margaret, it follows that the former contained at that period  $452\frac{3}{4}$  grains gross, or  $424\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine; for, as already shown, such were the contents of the money mark. From that period, until it acquired the name of "riksdaler," the talent can be traced with great precision. Nearly all the weights in the following table were obtained from coins in the Paris collection, kindly weighed in my presence by M. Casanova. With few



exceptions they were all very base, many of them showing a heavy alloy of copper. Where net weights are given they are mostly from Greijer and from the appearance of the coins. Greijer's weights seem too high. I fancy that the standard was often much lower than the historian assumed. It will be observed that in the reign of Eric XIV, the talent suddenly rises from about 450 to 560 grains. This was occasioned by changing the ratio from 8 to 10 for 1. After having thus strangely but unmistakably asserted its identity with the ancient mark of money, the (heavy) talent disappeared altogether, and in the succeeding years of the same reign it was replaced by the lighter and more serviceable riksdaler of about 400 grains, divided (now) into 8 degraded marks. Henceforth, excepting during the reign of Charles XI, and Charles XII, and again, during the Napoleonic wars, the riksdaler kept its weight pretty well; whilst the mark of money, which had anciently contained 1920 grains of silver, was so often degraded, that in the seventeenth century it contained less than 30 grains. It was then raised a little and finally destroyed altogether. It is noticeable that both the talent and riksdaler, like the later solidi of the Byzantine empire, commonly bore the effigy of Jesus Christ. This was afterwards changed to Jehovah, in Hebrew letters, יהוה, surrounded by a circle of flames. A later form of this type was the legend, "Got heppel," on a very much degraded daler of 1694.

*The Roman imperial (silver) talent or Scandinavian riksdaler.*

Year.	Reign.	Talent. Gross grs.	Talent. Fine grs.	Value. Marks.	Notes.
1396	Margaret	452·80	424·5	1	Union of the Three Kingdoms, 1397.
1434	Eric VII (VIII)	452·80	424·5	1	1 mark = 32 örtugars.
1509	John	432·50	—	1½	Grejer, p. 77.
1523	Gus. Vasa	—	—	3	Silver disappears. Issue of klippings.
1527	"	—	400·0	3	About this time 24 örtugars to the mark.
1542	"	444·85	—	3	The Value in marks is conjectural.
1543	"	430·50	337·9	3	"
1544	"	447·50	—	3	"
1557	"	447·50	367·2	3	"
1559	"	447·50	—	—	"
1546	Christian III	—	398·7	3	Mintage of Gulness, Norway.
1561	Eric XIV	537·00	—	—	From 20 ör (2) piece, weight 447·50 grs.
1563	"	547·38	—	—	From square coin stamped "16 ör," weight 364·92 grs.
1563	"	556·41	—	—	" " " " " " 370·94 grs.
1566	"	553·20	—	—	" " " " " " 368·80 grs.
1568	"	399·63	—	8	" " " " " " "8 M." weight doubtful.
1571	John III	398·50	—	4	" " " " " " "4 M." weight doubtful.
1575	"	447·50	—	4	About this time 8 öre, or 32 ort = 1 mark.
1576	"	447·50	398·5	4½	Value in marks conjectural.
1579	"	421·00	—	—	From "1 mark" coin, weight 106 grs. gross.
1587	"	455·18	398·5	4½	From "3 mark" coin, weight 283·45 grs. gross.
1590	"	448·80	—	4¾	From square "8 ör" coin, weight 109·9 grs. gross.
1591	"	439·60	—	—	" " " " " " "4 ör" " " "49·4
1591	"	395·20	—	—	" " " " " " " " " " " "

1594	Sigismund	447·50	—	—	Stamped "Nova Moneta."
1598	"	447·50	—	—	"
1599	"	447·50	—	—	From "Jehovah" coin, weight 46 grs. gross.
1602	Sigismund	368·00	—	—	From "4 M" coin, weight 287·77 "
1603	"	447·50	—	—	"Jehovah" and circle of fire.
1603	Charles IX	447·50	—	—	Decree of so-called "Free Coinage."
1604	"	—	398·5	4½	From "1 M" coin (worn), weight 73¼ grs. gross.
1606	"	451·80	—	6	From "2 M" coin, weight 150·6 grs. gross.
1607	"	451·80	—	—	Jesus Christ; legend "Salvator Mundi."
1608	"	447·50	—	—	Jehovah and circle of fire.
1609	"	438·20	—	—	Jesus Christ; legend "Salvator Mundi."
1610	"	447·50	—	—	Greijer.
1613	Gus. Adolf	—	398·5	4	Jesus Christ; legend "Salvator Mundi."
1618	"	481·42	—	—	Round silver-washed copper coin, daler size, stamped
1627	"	—	—	—	"Nova Moneta Cupræ."
1627	"	—	—	—	Round copper coin (not washed), same size, stamped
1628	"	—	—	—	"Nova Moneta Cupræ" and "1 or."
1629	"	—	398·5	6½	Greijer, p. 295 n.
1630	"	—	398·5	10	Greijer.
1632	"	—	398·5	14	Greijer.
1632	"	454·41	398·5	6	Gross weight from coin; net weight and value from Greijer.
1632	Christina	—	—	—	Assignats and transport notes.
1654	Chas. Gust.	—	—	—	Copper money and transport notes.
1661	Charles XI	—	—	—	Rundstyks, "1 or," size of an English penny.
1671	"	308·60	—	4	From "2 M" coin, weight 154·3 grs.
1686	"	—	—	—	Great degradation of silver coins. Greijer.
1690	"	317·24	—	4	From "2 M" coin, weight 158·62 grs. gross.
1694	"	56·01	—	4	Stamped "In Jehovah we trust" and "1 Reichsthal."
1699	Charles XII	327·12	—	4	From "2 M" coin, weight 163·56 grs. gross.

*The Roman imperial (silver) talent or Scandinavian riksdaler—continued.*

Year.	Reign.	Talent. Gross grs.	Talent. Fine grs.	Value. Marks.	Notes.
1711	Charles XII	316·32	—	4	From "2 M" coin, weight 158·16 grs. gross.
1716	"	—	333·0	6	Newton.
1719	Ulrica	300·88	—	4	From "2 M" coin, weight 150·44 grs. gross.
1720	"	469·00	—	4	Partington's "Encyc., art. "Money."
1750	Frederick	441·60	—	4	From "2 M" coin, weight 220·8 grs. gross.
1755	Adolphus Fred.	449·92	—	4	"
1762	"	—	395·5	4	Kelly's "Cambist."
1783	Gustavus	452·92	—	—	From a "2 $\frac{2}{3}$ Riksdaler."
1820	Charles XIV	—	396·8	—	Kelly's "Cambist."
1830	"	525·00	394·3	—	U.S. Mint assays.
1837	"	525·00	394·3	—	"
1838	"	525·00	394·3	—	"
1844	Oscar I	—	—	—	"
1868	Charles XV	—	—	—	"Specie daler," valued at 4 riks gold dalers. Mint closed
1872	Oscar II	524·16	393·1	—	to full legal-tender silver coins.

NOTE TO THE TABLE.—Years 1611–32, reign of Gustavus Adolphus. There was also a two-thirds piece or currency daler of this period, containing about 266 grains fine silver, of which  $1\frac{1}{2}$  went to the riksdaler (Greijer, p. 221). A century later, according to Newton's table of 1717, this coin weighed only 222 grains fine; value 4 marks. Overvalued copper coins also formed part of the circulation of Gustavus Adolphus. Some of them were washed with silver, and were evidently intended to circulate as dalers. The legend on them, whether plated or not, was "Nova Moneta Cupræ." The specimens in the Paris collection are dated 1627. Year 1606, reign of Charles IX. Round base silver coins with name of Jehovah in Hebrew letters surrounded by a circle of flames, legend "1 Mark Svenska," gross weight  $73\frac{3}{4}$  grains; Paris collection. This coin is worn, and has probably lost  $1\frac{1}{4}$  grains, so that its gross weight was about 75 grains. Hence there must have been 6 marks to the daler of this date.



## THE MARK WEIGHT AND THE SILVER MARK OF MONEY.

*The following table shows the number of marks of money struck from the mark weight of standard silver and the number of English grains of standard silver in each mark of money. The mark weight of Ruric has been reckoned at 3600, of Denmark and Norway at  $3607\frac{3}{4}$  and of Sweden at 3250 grains.*

Year.	Reign.	Marks in mark wght.	Mark. Grains.
9 cent.	Ruric . . . . .	$0\frac{8}{15}$	1920·00
1290	Magnus VI . . . . .	3	1202·59
1319	Magnus VII . . . . .	5	721·55
1348	Hakon V . . . . .	5	721·55
1396	Margaret . . . . .	$8\frac{1}{2}$	424·50
1434	Eric VII . . . . .	$8\frac{1}{2}$	424·50
1509	John . . . . .	$12\frac{1}{2}$	†288·33
1523	Gustavus Vasa . . . . .	$22\frac{1}{5}$	*144·44
1527	" . . . . .	$19\frac{1}{2}$	166·67
1543	" . . . . .	$28\frac{7}{8}$	112·63
1557	" . . . . .	$26\frac{1}{2}$	122·40
1559	" . . . . .	$26\frac{1}{2}$	*122·40
1546	Christain III . . . . .	$27\frac{7}{48}$	132·90
1568	Eric XIV . . . . .	65	50·00
1571	John III . . . . .	$32\frac{1}{2}$	*100·00
1575	" . . . . .	30	*108·33
1579	" . . . . .	30	*108·33
1590	" . . . . .	$34\frac{1}{2}$	*94·20
1591	" . . . . .	$34\frac{1}{4}$	*94·20
1603	Sigismund . . . . .	45	*72·22
1604	Charles IX . . . . .	$36\frac{3}{4}$	*88·50
1606	" . . . . .	$33\frac{1}{2}$	*97·00
1613	Gustavus Adolphus . . . . .	30	*108·33
1628	" . . . . .	53	*61·33
1629	" . . . . .	$81\frac{1}{2}$	*39·85
1630	" . . . . .	114	*28·50
1632	" . . . . .	$48\frac{7}{8}$	*66·50
1671	Charles XI . . . . .	45	*72·22
1690	" . . . . .	40	*81·25
1694	" . . . . .	230	*14·00
1699	Charles XII . . . . .	40	*81·25
1711	" . . . . .	40	*81·25
1719	Ulrica . . . . .	43	*77·40
1750	Frederick . . . . .	29	*112·00
1755	Adolphus Frederick . . . . .	$28\frac{7}{8}$	*112·63
1762	" . . . . .	$32\frac{7}{8}$	99·00

NOTES TO THE TABLE. \* Deduced from the gross weight of coins in the Paris collection. As these coins are greatly and variously debased the deductions, so far as net contents are concerned, are only approximative.

† Gross weight.

It will be observed that in the ninth century the mark of money contained  $\frac{8}{15}$  of a mark weight of silver ; in the thirteenth century the mark weight was coined into 3 marks of money ; toward the middle of the fourteenth century into 5 marks ; toward the end of the same century into  $8\frac{1}{2}$  marks ; in the sixteenth century from  $12\frac{1}{2}$  to 65 marks ; and in the seventeenth century from 30 to 230 marks. Although a restoration of the coinage appears to have taken place in 1762 it is probable that the silver mark of money, except as hereinafter mentioned, disappeared at that period altogether.

If we turn from the silver to the gold moneys of Scandinavia, the information supplied to us by historical works and coin collections, though scant enough as to one, becomes still more scant with respect of the other ; and the following table is submitted to the reader not without some misgiving as to its entire correctness. However, it is the best that can now be made of the subject. The scale of equivalents down to the sixteenth century was 32 ortugars (afterwards called skillings) to the money mark ; for example, in the reign of John, 1481–1512, there appear to have been always 32 ortugars to the money mark, but in the reign of Gustavus Vasa, the money mark was divided into 24 ortugars. At this point the gold money mark disappeared, and marks were henceforth made of debased silver. In 1604, according to Greijer, there were but 24 ortugars to the mark ; thus, 16 Gotland or 8 Swedish pennies = 1 ortugar ; 3 ortugars = 1 ore ; 8 ore = 1 mark. As both the value of silver to gold, and the number of silver coins to the mark, were continually lowered by legislation, it follows that the contents of the gold mark diminished with great rapidity, a fact which accounts for its disappearance. The ratio of silver to gold from the earliest period to the Renaissance was 8 for 1 ; during the Renaissance 10 for 1 ; after the Dutch revolution about 13 for 1 ; in the eighteenth century (1777) 14.82 for 1 ; and since that time, more or less, the same as in the Netherlands.



We are now prepared to trace the copper system of Scandinavia, which, as with Russia before the present century, was of more importance than either the gold or silver coins.

The copper klippings of Christian and Gustavus Vasa were followed in 1569 by a third issue of the same character. These were the klippings of John III. In 1575 this issue was retired, and the country was relieved from klippings until 1589, when John introduced another issue of them.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile the revolution had broken out in the Netherlands, and the burghers had taken the monetary system into their own hands by establishing private or individual coinage. It was now no longer Charles V, nor the counts of Holland who determined how many gold ducats, or silver dollars, or florins, should be coined and added to the circulation, but the burghers of Leyden, Deventer, and Amsterdam. This legislation had been followed by an extraordinary influx of the precious metals into the Dutch ports. The example and good fortune of Holland was not lost upon the Swedes, who perhaps fancied that by copying the legislation of the United Provinces they would promote a like influx of silver into Stockholm. But they were mistaken. It was not individual coinage which had filled the Dutch ports with gold and silver, but the Dutch fleets and buccaneers of the East and West Indies, and the Dutch traders in Japan. However, the Swedes, as yet unconscious or heedless of these circumstances, went on with their second-hand legislation. In 1604, by the statute of Nordcheping, it was enacted that half an ounce (say 203 grains) of standard silver should pass for 16 ore, also that a rixdaler (398½ grains standard) should pass for 36 ore. This decree gave an advantage to coins over metal of about 15 per cent., a pretty heavy seigniorage, the whole of which it was practical to evade by sending the silver to Amsterdam and there having it coined into florins and

<sup>1</sup> Greijer, p. 178.



exchanged for Dutch wares and products for shipment to Stockholm. As for the monetary function, which this decree conferred upon bullion, it was wholly ineffective. Nobody wanted bullion. Even although he got 15 per cent. more metal in the same sum, he preferred dalers.

In 1607, the king (Charles IX), tried a new experiment in money. He decreed that whosoever brought to the mint 4 riksdalers (1594 English grains of silver), or who brought  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ounces of silver ( $1828\frac{1}{8}$  grains), should receive  $4\frac{1}{2}$  currency dalers.<sup>1</sup> I have not the text of this act before me, and cannot give either the contents or value of these new dalers. They should contain about 350 grains each, but I have found no such coin of this date in the Paris collection. As no limits were placed upon the deposits of silver, and as the right of the depositor to demand coined dalers for his metal was not restricted, this decree was called a "Patent of Free Coinage." It should have been termed "An act enabling the king to grant to the burghers one of the chief prerogatives of State." That prerogative was the right and the power to increase the currency by employing the mint to turn metal into coins, and the right to diminish the currency by melting these coins down to metal. With such a see-saw as this in hand the burghers were armed with a terrible power over the fortunes of their fellow-subjects. Fortunately for the prosperity of Sweden the Dutch system did not work successfully in that country. Sweden was poor; no vikings now entered its ports laden with the plunder of other lands, and very little silver was in circulation. In 1613, after the peace with Denmark, a degraded currency daler was in circulation which could not have contained more than about 266 grains, for it required one and a half of them to equal in value one riksdaler.<sup>2</sup> In the same year the ransom of Elfsborg was agreed to be paid in four years, whereas, in fact, it was not paid until the end of six years. It was collected by a tax on the

<sup>1</sup> Patent of January 7th, 1607.

<sup>2</sup> Greijer, p. 221.

people, levied according to class, and made payable in coins, silver bullion, copper, iron, rye, or malt, the merchandise at fixed prices.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the best proof of the scarcity of money consists in the fact that in 1613 the inevitable over-valued coppers, now no longer called klippings but "rundstyks," again made their appearance in the circulation. This was followed by another emission in 1625, and the following paraphrase from Mr. Bryce's 'Holy Roman Empire' informs us to what a memorable use this issue was put to by the king.

"In 1619 Ferdinand II. ascended the imperial throne of Germany. The arrangements of Augsburg, like most treaties on the basis of *uti possidetis*, were no better than a hollow truce, satisfying no one, and conscientiously made to be broken. The Church lands which the Protestants had seized and Jesuit confessors had urged the Catholic princes to reclaim, furnished unceasing ground of quarrel; and the smouldering hate of both parties was kindled by the troubles of Bohemia in the Thirty Years' War. Jealous, bigoted, implacable, skilful in forming and masking his plans, and resolute in carrying them to completion, this champion of Rome had as nearly destroyed the Protestant religion of Europe as Charlemagne had destroyed the Arrian Christianity of the Lombards and the ancient worship of the Gothic races. Leagued with Spain, backed by the Catholics of Germany, and served by such a leader as Wallenstein, Ferdinand proposed nothing less than the extension of the empire to its ancient limits, and the recovery of its suzerainty over all the Christian states. Denmark and Holland were to be attacked by sea and land; Italy to be re-conquered by the help of Spain; and Maximilian of Bavaria and Wallenstein were to be rewarded with principalities in the ancient Gothic provinces of Mecklenburgh and Pomerania. The last-named general was all but master of the northern lands, when the successful resistance of Stralsund and an unexpected

<sup>1</sup> Greijer, p. 221 n.

event of still greater importance turned the wavering balance of the war. In 1630 the Goths once more crossed the Baltic, and turned their arms against Rome. Ferdinand had required the restitution of all Church property occupied since 1555. The Protestants were helpless, and Europe was on the point of being again subjected to the murderous vengeance of Rome, when it was saved by the Gothic king. In four campaigns he destroyed the arms and prestige of the Catholic emperor, ravaged his lands, emptied his treasury, and left him at last so enfeebled, that no subsequent success could make him or his cause again formidable."

The rundstyks of Gustavus are noteworthy for another reason; they gave rise to one of the most interesting monetary experiments known to the history of the north. The modern sciolists of money are never tired of chanting the sing-song of the dialecticians that money is a commodity—that it is subject to the economic laws pertaining to commodities, among which is "supply and demand," and that its value must necessarily conform to the cost of the production of this commodity. If this be true it can make no essential difference of what commodity money is made provided that it is valuable, imperishable, susceptible of being readily coined, etc., nor how much or little of it is coined. We are now about to see a monetary system based on this delusion. The overvalued copper money of Sweden, issued by the Crown, reached such vast proportions that by the middle of the century it had fallen to far near its value as metal. Thus, at a period when the Dutch and English ports were enriched with the plundered treasures of India and America, the Gothic defenders of a faith, which enabled the nobles and burghers of those lands to enjoy this wealth in peace, were enduring the bitterness of poverty and putting up with the inconvenience of a copper currency.

A remarkable document, of which a copy exists in the Norden collections, delivered by Axel Oxenstiern to

Gustavus Adolphus, bears this title: "According to his majesty's gracious command this is my humble opinion touching the copper trade and copper coinage." . . .

"So long as copper was at a good value, and the coinage was limited in amount, so that it only supplied the wants of the community, and answered to their requirements, and was so kept within bounds that he who wished to have silver could obtain it, one coinage was as good as another; but after the value of copper fell it drew down the coinage with it and diminished its value, so that we may indeed suffer and be silent on account of the prince's edict, but that does not alter the opinion and common sense of men." He then advises that the copper mines should be thrown open to individual enterprise—the sooner the better—with other advice concerning the copper mines and the old Copper Company.<sup>1</sup>

After the death of Gustavus the embarrassments of the treasury compelled his daughter Christina to issue, in 1644, a sort of exchequer-bill, known by the name of "assignats" or "assignments," which appear to have circulated as money. Turning, in this extremity, to Holland for a suitable financial expedient, Sweden found one in the Wissel Bank of Amsterdam, and in 1656 a private institution, on much the same plan, was established in Stockholm by a man named Palmstruck. This bank received deposits of coin, bullion, and rundstyks, for which it granted credits, and in 1658 issued receipts known as "transport-notes," which, from their superior convenience, soon drove the copper rundstyks into the vaults of the bank and usurped their place in the circulation. This plan worked so well that in 1668 the

<sup>1</sup> Greijer, p. 295 n. The Copper Company was, in 1629, obliged to restore the copper trade to the Crown, having made vain attempts to keep up the price. The copper coinage, first introduced into Sweden in 1625, formed part of this system (*Ibid.*, p. 222). Compare the treatise on the old Copper Company and copper coinage in the time of Gustavus Adolphus, by Master Wingquist, "*Scandia*," vol. iv (*Ibid.*, p. 227 n.).



government took over Palmstruck's bank, which it chartered in that year as the Riks-Bank, or Royal, or National Bank of Sweden, and embarked, without further reserve, in a monetary system based upon copper metal. It cut large plates of hammered copper into squares and oblongs, some of them weighing thirteen or fourteen pounds,<sup>1</sup> and, stamping them with an appropriate device and their value (that of the metal) in each corner, issued them as money.

Upon the theory of the schools there could be no practical objection to this money nor to the "free coinage" of it, except its bulk and weight, and as to bulk and weight, there was the bank ready to receive it on deposit, and to issue in its place transport-notes payable in copper-plates. But soon a difficulty arose, for which no provision had been made, and which the schoolmen had not foreseen: the value of copper continued to fall, and with it fell the purchasing-power of the copper-plates, and of the notes that represented them. It was then perceived that gold and silver made a superior metallic money, not because they cost more than copper to produce, but because they possess an attribute which is possessed neither by copper nor any other commodity. There is a vast accumulation of gold and silver in the world saved up from distant ages. Hence their value—which is not that of their cost of production, but (with open mints) that of their numbers and function as coins—is slow to obey any change, however great, in the cost of producing new metal. As there was no like accumulation of copper, every shipload that came in from Amsterdam further and further lowered its value, and every withdrawal for the arts enhanced it. At length, on account of the fluctuations which occurred in its value, it became entirely useless for money.

<sup>1</sup> One of these plates, formerly in my possession, was 10 inches square, three eighths of an inch thick, and weighed 6 lbs. 13 oz. avoirdupois. But I have seen them of double this size and weight in the Paris collection.

During the Regency of Christina (1633-45) it was resolved that, "Instead of the copper coinage which his late Majesty had determined to let fall of itself, as it had already mostly disappeared, a good and sterling coinage, yet somewhat under the standard, should be issued."<sup>1</sup> There is no sterling coinage of this period in the public collections.

"The copper cross-pieces, struck and issued by order of Gustavus, seem to have had no currency. The Swedish agent in Holland, Eric Laurencson, offers to send them back again (Letter of the Council to the Chancellor, January 14, 1633). The government was constrained to order that debts which had been contracted in copper money should be paid according to the value which the riksdaler bore at the time, namely, until 1628,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  marks to the riksdaler; 1629, 10 marks, and afterwards 14 marks, as ascertained by the Crown receipts. Thenceforth the riksdaler was to be worth 6 marks, or 48 öre, but the copper öre, or rundstyks, in circulation were at the same time depreciated to half their value, and the government undertook to cause silver coins to be struck."<sup>2</sup>

The failure of the copper ingot system gave rise to another monetary experiment, this time with a tragic ending. After the defeat of Charles XII. at Pultowa and his return from captivity money was scarce and credit low in Sweden, but the genius of his financial adviser, Baron Goertz, saw a way to remove every difficulty. George Heinrich de Goertz, Baron von Schlitz, was born of a noble family in Holstein. He joined Charles XII. at Stralsund on his return from Turkey, and through his activity and intelligence was soon placed at the head of affairs. His scheme for establishing the currency was to issue not copper ingots but copper dollars, which, as they bore the king's stamp, were made full legal tenders, and were light and adapted for the pocket, he imagined would circulate at their nominal value without difficulty. This they would

<sup>1</sup> Greijer, p. 295 n.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

have done but for several circumstances, none of which appear to have been sufficiently considered by this otherwise excellent and conscientious minister. First, the government was too prostrate and weak to sustain a fiduciary money. Second, Goertz did not place any limitation upon the coinage. This (limitation) is the main principle and essence of money, without which—no matter of what substance the symbols are made, whether of gold, silver, copper, or paper—it must fail to discharge its function equitably. Third, the copper dollars which he struck, unlike the exquisitely finished sesterces of the Roman Republic, were rudely made and therefore easily counterfeited. Fourth, he seemed indifferent to the rights or prejudices of the ecclesiastical, noble, and burgher classes, whose rents and other sources of income were grossly and inequitably reduced through his neglect to secure the overvalued dollars from depreciation. He caused to be struck upon these dollars, not the images of the ancient Gothic gods, as some authors allege, but of Jupiter, Mars, Phœbus, Saturn, etc., and this, too, was deemed an offence to those who were injured by the depreciation which occurred. The pieces were of about the same size as a silver shilling of to-day, and were stamped “4 daler silf. mynt,” being overvalued nearly a hundred times. Finally, as if to render these coins as odious as possible, it was asserted and believed that after an interval the tax officers would be instructed to refuse them in payment of taxes from the peasants,<sup>1</sup> but such inequity and rashness seems incredible. This system, coupled with issues of base silver coins, heavy copper plates, and paper notes, to neither of which were any limits prescribed or observed, continued in force during the life of the king; but the moment his death occurred, in 1718, and his sister Ulrica Elenora mounted the throne, a declaration was promulgated whereby the paper notes were wholly abolished, and the copper dalers were reduced by several successive steps

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

to something near their metallic value. The next measures taken by the princess royal and her council are thus described.<sup>1</sup>

“A charge was drawn up against Goertz, who was accused of peculation, of having ruined public credit by imaginary money, of having formed a design to destroy the king and army by advising him to a ruinous campaign in the inhospitable kingdom of Norway, and so on. . . . Goertz, to whom the assistance of counsel was refused, defended himself with great ability, and clearly invalidated almost every article of the impeachment. His straightened circumstances were a proof that he had applied none of the public money to his own use; the necessity of the times apologised for his substituting over-valued money to satisfy the wants of the treasury, and possibly such a measure might have proved of national advantage had it been pursued with more discretion. Notwithstanding Goertz’s defence was clear and irrefragable, the case went on without regard to formality or perhaps to equity. The court and the citizens seemed equally determined to hound him to death. . . . He was condemned to lose his head, and at a place appointed for the execution of thieves and felons.”<sup>2</sup> This cruel sentence was enforced March 3, 1719.

The insertion of a design to “ruin public credit with imaginary money” in the indictment against Goertz reads very much like the apology of the regicides for their murder of the Mongol ruler of Persia in 1294, that he had criminally substituted paper for metallic money. Indeed, one indictment may have been borrowed from the other.<sup>3</sup> Voltaire, citing the memoirs of Bassevitz, gives an entirely different version of the Goertz affair. He does not say that the primate was executed either for circulating copper dollars in Sweden or advising a campaign in Norway, but for the abortive plots and intrigues which

<sup>1</sup> “Modern Univers. Hist.,” xxx, pp. 284–85.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 288.

<sup>3</sup> Wright’s “Marco Polo,” p. 217.



he set afoot for the recovery of the Baltic provinces.<sup>1</sup> This seems very much more likely.

Besides the Goertz dollars, the base silver coins, and the paper currency of Charles XII, there were in circulation some of the old copper plates and the transport-notes of the Riksbank; indeed, this continued down to 1763, so that from first to last the copper plates enjoyed a circulation of more than a century. In addition to these strange elements of money in Sweden, there was a copper plate system in Wismar. By the treaty of Westphalia, 1648, the city of Wismar, in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, had been ceded to Sweden, which established there a court of appeals for its possessions in Germany. In 1715, during the prevalence of the copper plate bank notes and copper dollar system of Sweden, copper ingots or plates were issued in Wismar of the denominations 4, 8, and 16 skillings, and the sizes 2,  $2\frac{1}{8}$ , and  $3\frac{3}{4}$  inches square. Facsimiles of these pieces, which are now very rare, are published in Maillet's "*Monnaies Obsidionales et de Necessité*," Bruxelles, 1868. They are all dated 1715, and soon after this date they disappeared from circulation, and found their way to the Riksbank of Stockholm.<sup>2</sup>

During the last half of the eighteenth and first quarter of the nineteenth century the currency of Sweden was nominally based on silver dalers, but, owing to the wars in which the State was involved, it really consisted of somewhat depreciated bank-notes and greatly depreciated government notes, both of which, it is perhaps needless to say, were inconvertible. This depreciation, and the desire to resume coin payments, gave rise to the coinage

<sup>1</sup> Voltaire, "*L'Empire de Russie*," ii, 8. It is a curious fact that the Goertz dalers were called *Mynt-saïcen*, a retention of the ancient denomination of the *saicca*, *saiga*, *sicca*, or *shekel*, for the meaning of which so many metrologists and numismatists have searched in vain (*De Viënné*, "*Livre d'Argent*;" Brucker, in Hildebrand's "*Jahrbok*," 1864, i, p. 161).

<sup>2</sup> Consult my "*History of Money, Ancient*," p. 199.

of new silver dalers, designed to exactly equal the value of the depreciated notes, for which, it was expected, they would become interchangeable. It will be remembered that the old specie riksdaler (in which these notes were payable) contained about 390 English grains fine silver. The new coins were the riksdaler-banco, containing about  $146\frac{1}{4}$  grains fine, or three-eighths of the specie daler, and the riksgald (royal debts) daler, containing about  $97\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine, or one-fourth of the specie daler. The former represented the value of the bank-note, the latter that of the government note. Each of these dalers were subdivided into 48 skillings, each of 12 rundstyks.<sup>1</sup>

As, by the Royal Ordinance of October 26th, 1829, the government notes were made legal-tender for riksgald dalers, and no adequate provision was made for their retirement, the new coins, when not exported, were added to the circulation, and they still further lowered the value of all the dalers, including themselves. Upon observing this, the government hastened its arrangements for the retirement of its notes, and the operation was eventually concluded satisfactorily, not, however, until the confusion caused by the presence of three different classes of metallic dalers, skillings, and rundstyks had led to great annoyance.<sup>2</sup>

By the legislation of 1854, the old specie riksdaler and the new riksdaler-banco were abolished, leaving the riksgald daler the sole "unit of circulation" (a much better term than the misleading "unit of value" of the

<sup>1</sup> Consult table of the Talent or Riksdaler in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Lieut.-Colonel F. S. Terry, in two pamphlets, "The Great Currency Problem" and "Independent Standards," London, 1893, proposed to "restore silver" by introducing into other states a like system of two metallic moneys, the one silver, the other gold, both open to "free coinage," and both without limit, in either of which moneys people would be free to make their bargains. The Dutch authors of the Act of Charles II. gave us one illimitable and ever-varying measure of value; Colonel Terry's plan would give us two.

American statutes). The riksgald daler was now termed the riksmünt daler, its subdivisions of skillings and rundstycks were abrogated, and it was subdivided anew into 100 öre.<sup>1</sup> This legislation went into effect January 1st, 1858.

The religious fanaticism of Christian II, which had arrayed against him both the nobles and the commons of Sweden, also occasioned the secession of Norway from the Scandinavian union. The election of Frederick I, by the Danes, though it failed to conciliate the multitude who supported the standard of Gustavus Vasa, appears to have satisfied both the peoples of Norway and Denmark, whereupon, in 1523, these two States were joined under one government, and they so remained until 1813-14, when Norway again united with Sweden.

The monetary history of Denmark and Norway during most of this interval has been already sufficiently illustrated. Previous to 1813 the Danish monetary valuations were 1 specie riksdaler equalled  $1\frac{1}{2}$  sletdalers, 4 orts, 6 marks, 96 skillings, 192 fyrkes, 288 witten, or 1152 pfennings Danish; or one half of the like denominations in Hamburg, or Lubeck, or Schleswig-Holstein money. Thus the Danish specie riksdaler equalled 3 marks, or 48 skillings "Lubs," etc. In other words, the mark or skilling of Lubeck, etc., was worth twice as much as the mark or skilling Danish.

There were at this period no less than five different kinds of money used in Denmark. These were as follows:—

1. "Specie." The basis of this money was the "specie" or "effective" riksdaler of 390 down to 375 English grains fine, valued in law at 6 marks, or 96 skillings, etc., as above stated.

2. "Currency." This money consisted of suspended bank or government notes, and, according to Dr. Kelly, was  $22\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. worse than "specie." This is pre-

<sup>1</sup> Appleton's "Encyc.," xv, p. 217.

sumed to mean in the year 1821, when the author wrote, but of course the relation was variable. The books of merchants, tradesmen, and others (except those of the bank of Altona, which adhered to "specie") were kept in "currency." "Specie" and "currency" were the two principal moneys. Besides these, there were :

3. "Sundish specie," in which Sound dues were levied on foreigners. This was  $2\frac{5}{8}$  per cent. worse than "specie."

4. "Crown money," in which Sound dues were levied on native vessels. This was  $15\frac{3}{51}$  per cent. worse than "specie."

To enhance this confusion of moneys, the silver "specie" coins were struck by the Danish mint mark of about  $3607\frac{3}{4}$  grains, while the gold coins and the "currency" and "Crown" silver coins were struck by the Cologne mark of 3608 grains. The difference was small, yet it was sufficient to occasion annoyance in the computation and value of large sums. This dissonance of mint-weights arose out of the fact that the king of Denmark was also the duke of Holstein, and, as such, his coins had to agree in some sort with those of the empire. The "specie" ducat of Denmark contained 52·6, and the "current" ducat 42·2, grains fine gold. The "Christian" contained 93·6, and the "Frederick" of 1813-39 contained  $91\frac{1}{4}$ , grains fine gold. The gold coins were not legal-tender, and they fluctuated in value, from day to day, in silver coins. Bargains (special contracts) could be made in gold coins, but, as silver coins formed the basis of the monetary system, such bargains were rarely made, and the gold coinage constituted an expense to the government, for which the charge of  $\frac{2}{5}$  of 1 per cent. seigniorage was deemed an inadequate compensation. The gold coins were commonly exported to Germany, where they were hoarded by the peasants.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> All these details will be found in the communication of G. Strachey,



A further source of confusion in the monetary system of Denmark arose from the circumstance that, whilst in Bergen the system of money was based on the Danish riksdaler of 6 marks, or 96 skillings, in Christiania, Drontheim, Larwigen, Kopperwic, and other places in Norway, a riksdaler was employed of 4 orts, or 24 skillings Danish.<sup>1</sup> A final confusion was occasioned by the fluctuations of the Danish paper currency, which, being continually increased in amount, varied in Danish "specie" or silver riksdalers, a subject which will be explained after disposing of the specie system introduced in 1813.

In this new system one of the old riksdalers was coined into two; in other words,  $18\frac{1}{2}$  new Riksbank dalers—as they were called—were struck from a Cologne mark of silver, so that each one contained 195 English grains fine. This daler was divided into 6 marks or 96 skillings, like the old riksdaler "specie," therefore both the dalers, marks, and skillings, since there was no limit to their coinage, were worth only half as much as the former ones.

"The bank of Copenhagen has undergone many essential changes since its first establishment, and, in order to understand its present state, it may be necessary to take a general view of those alterations. It was originally founded, in 1736, as a bank both of deposit and of circulation. In 1745 it was released from the obligation of discharging its notes in coin, and it continued still to make advances to the State and to individuals in paper, by which shares became greatly enhanced in their value.

"This bank had issued paper to the amount of eleven millions of riksdalers, when the king returned their deposits to the shareholders and became himself the sole

Esq., to the British Foreign Office, printed in the "Report of the Royal Commission on Coinage," 1868, p. 234.

<sup>1</sup> Schmidt's (Tate's) "Cambist," p. 86, also mentions a Norwegian daler of 120 skillings; but I have not been able to identify it.

proprietor. The paper issued was twenty times the amount of the capital, in consequence of which specie disappeared, and notes were fixed as low as 1 riks dollar.

“To remedy this inconvenience, in 1791, all further emission of notes was forbidden, and a progressive liquidation of the paper was ordered. A new bank, called the Specie Bank, was created, which was to be independent of the government. The money deposited might be drawn out at pleasure, or transferred by assignment, and its issue of paper was limited to a certain extent. In 1804 the new notes lost 25 per cent. in exchange with the currency in which they were payable, and the depreciation continued to increase until 1812, when it became excessive.

“In 1813 a new bank was established under the direction of the king, and, therefore, entitled the Royal Bank of Denmark. Its chief object was to reduce the paper then in circulation, which was depreciated to one-sixth of its nominal value; and in a new issue the dollar was equivalent to five-eighths of the old paper dollar, which reduced the composition to  $\frac{5}{8}$ . In 1817 this bank was converted into a National Bank, by making a certain proportion of the property of the kingdom a guarantee for the liquidation of its paper.

“For this purpose all property was to pay 6 per cent. to the bank, and until the capital is paid the interest charged for each deficiency is  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per annum. Valuation of property in this case is regulated by the public taxes, and all the payments are to be made in silver or in paper of the full value of silver, according to a certain rate of exchange, which is fixed quarterly; but as this institution engages to pay off seven millions of riksbank dollars annually, persons paying in their quota at the bank are allowed a drawback of five-sixths of the taxes.

“This bank issues its own notes, which are gradually paid off; and it is intended, when the new paper is

entirely reduced, to issue notes payable to bearer on demand. All revenues and great transactions are paid in this paper, according to the rate of exchange. This rate is called riksbank silver value, which may be sometimes more and sometimes less than the riksbank dollar. All private contracts and current transactions are understood to be settled in such paper, unless real silver is stipulated for; likewise all payments of public actuaries and to the army; but custom-house duties are settled in real silver.

"In January, 1821, the debts of the bank were computed as follows:—1. Seven millions of riksbank dollars of public stock, which it has undertaken to pay. 2. Seven millions of bonds for the redemption of the former paper money of Holstein, etc. 3. A debt of seven millions, lately contracted for the diminution of the bank-notes in circulation. 4. The bank-notes in circulation, which are computed at twenty-two millions.

"The capital is estimated at thirty-three millions of riksbank dollars, and the bank is besides computed to possess about three millions in silver and in buildings. The surplus of its annual revenue, the principal part of which arises from the interest of its security on real estates, is employed in the reduction of the bank-notes in circulation. The contributors of 6 per cent. from estates, as well as voluntary contributors, are shareholders, and are equally entitled to interest, etc."<sup>1</sup>

This system was modified in 1839, by further provisions for the retirement of the paper money, similar to those of Sweden, already described, except that in the case of Denmark, the riksbank silver daler of 195 grains fine remained the "unit of circulation." It was, therefore, worth a trifle more than two Swedish riksgald, or riksmünt, dalers.

On September 20, 1872, a convention of the three Scandinavian States was concluded at Copenhagen, which

<sup>1</sup> Kelly's "Cambist," ed. 1821, i, p. 79.

was ratified at Stockholm on December 18, 1872.<sup>1</sup> It provided for a common system of coinage, based on the gold kroner (crown) of 6·22 English grains fine, divided into 100 öre. This coin, or rather its multiples (four kroner being the smallest piece), was made full legal tender in all the States, and was opened to "individual coinage;" in other words, the State is obliged to coin anybody's gold bullion substantially free of expense, the seigniorage only amounting to from  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{8}$  of 1 per cent. *ad valorem*. The silver coins were limited in legal-tender function to five specie riksdalers, equal (nominally) to twenty kroner, and their coinage was reserved to the State. In a word, the Scandinavian States practically demonetised silver, and adopted gold coins and "open mintage" as the basis of their monetary systems. Each State retained its own paper money system. The notes, so long as they continue to be redeemed in gold coins, are full legal tender within the State of issue—an attribute of which they are to become divested whenever redemption fails. "In the transcription of obligations contracted in the earlier money, the basis of conversion adopted was the proportion of silver to gold of 15·08 for 1." This simply means that obligations contracted in specie riksdalers of practically  $375\frac{1}{2}$  grains silver are now payable with four kroner, containing 24·9 grains of gold. "The ratio of transcription" in Denmark was 15·675 for 1. Both the gold and silver coins of each State are accorded legal course in the others, subject, as to silver coins, to certain internal arrangements.

These provisions were adopted in the Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian laws of May 23, 1873, May 30, 1873, and June 4, 1873, and by the treaties of May 27, 1873, and October 16, 1875, which went into effect April 1, 1876, and were rendered obligatory from January 1, 1877.

<sup>1</sup> The text of this convention will be found in the "Report of the U.S. Monetary Commission" of 1876, part I, p. 71.



## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE NETHERLANDS.

Ancient Saxony—Origin of the Dutch—Their maritime character—Early moneys—The pagan Iesterling, Engel, and Guilder—Trade with Saracenic Spain—Moslem and Esterling ratios—Pepin, the Short—The Christian ratio—Compromise ratio of the Baltic—The Säiga—Fall of the Eastern Empire—Coinages of the Renaissance—The Ducat, or Florin—Proposed Anglo-Flemish Convention—Florins and Nobles of Edward III—Disagreement respecting the ratio—Burgundian ratios—The Ducaton, or Thaler—the Stiver—Causes of the Dutch revolution—Religion and Money—The right of coinage—Corruptions of money during the Renaissance—Sudden enhancement of gold by Charles V—Revolt of the Netherlands—Demonetisation of gold—Paper money of Leyden—the Wissel Bank—The Bank of Amsterdam—Sols banco—Burgher coinage—It destroys money and substitutes metal—Selfish policy of Spain—The Buccaneers—Plunder of the Spanish galleons—Opening of the sea route to the Orient—The Dutch colony of New Amsterdam (New York)—The English follow the Dutch in all these measures—Sir Thomas Gresham—Dutch coinage ratios from the earliest times to the present—The Mark—Hanseatic money—Successive monetary systems of the Burghers from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century—Gold and silver alternately demonetised—Bank issues and insolvency—Recent demonetisation of silver—Present currency of the Netherlands—Importance of the ratio as a guide to history—Urgent necessity for reform of the Dutch monetary system—The Future.

THE early history of money in the Netherlands is included in that of ancient Saxony, of which an outline appears in my "Ancient Britain." The present treatise begins substantially with the Carlovingian or Mediæval empire, under which the various lordships, which afterwards constituted the provinces of the Netherlands, were held in vassalage. These were Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Guelderland, Groningen, Over-iesel, or Overysse,

and Friesland; afterwards called the Seven United Provinces. These, with three other provinces, carved out of the Generality governed by the States-General, make the present kingdom of Holland. The eight remaining provinces of the Netherlands now make the kingdom of Belgium.

It will conduce to a better understanding of the Dutch monetary systems to explain, at the outset, that the ancient Batavians were not descended from the people of the highlands, or Germany, and shared neither their customs nor religion. The Batavians were a portion of that martial and amphibious race who carried the worship of the Sun and the art of navigation from the Gulf of Finland to the British Channel; and were so mingled with the Iesthonians, Veneti, and Norsemen, that no ethnological nor philological theory has ever satisfactorily traced their genealogy, or accounted for their early history. Their rivers, provinces, and towns, as Iessel, Ober-Iessel, and Ies-la-Chapelle, afterwards Aix-la-Chapelle, were named after the sun-god; they were fishermen, traders, and pirates; and so were their neighbours and kinsmen, the Veneti and Norsemen; and that is about all we know of them, until Charlemagne, including them among the pagans of Saxony, drove his pious sword through some of their obdurate hearts and obliterated their genealogy, by introducing German blood into the remainder. The conquest of the Veneti and Batavians by Cæsar, the allusion to them in the "Germany" of Tacitus, the revolt of the Frisians against the exacting rule of Tiberius, the rise of Carausius the Menapian, the subjection of the Low Countries to the Western and Carlovingian empires, and the history of the Pagan Hansa, all of which subjects are treated either in the work above alluded to, or else in my "Middle Ages Revisited," may interest the student of a larger history; but cannot, in the present state of historical knowledge, lead to any more satisfactory information concerning the origin of the Dutch people.

The oldest Dutch coins are attributed to Arnold II, count

of Flanders, 964–89. The oldest Dutch coins in the British Museum are some small thin silver pieces of Bruno III, count of Frisia, A.D. 1038–57, a vassal of the emperors Henry III. and Henry IV. These pieces, which are in fairly good condition, weigh from 10·2 to 10·4 English grains each. I shall revert to them further on; meanwhile it is necessary to observe that, although they are among the oldest Dutch coins, they are not among the oldest Dutch moneys. These were *ieschen* (corrupted to *eschen*, and falsely traced to the Roman *ace* or *as*, which last was unknown in the Netherlands), *iesterlings* or *engels*, and *gulden*. The first and second of these names, like those attached to the sacred coins of China, India, Greece, and Rome, are evidently derived from that of the sun-god. *Engel* is probably derived from an effigy on the *iesterling*. The last belongs also to a pagan era, for although now it is that of a silver coin, the name evidently belongs to a time when it was a gold one, and therefore to a pagan period; because under the Christian empire no gold coins were permitted to be struck except by the sovereign-pontiff in Byzantium. The *gulden* was probably the *maravedi* of about 40 grains weight.

From near the beginning of the eighth to the close of the tenth centuries—when, as attested by the numerous finds of moslem coins in Esthonia, Julin, Gotland, Frisia, &c., an active trade was conducted in the Baltic and North Seas and coastwise down to Saracenic Spain, by the Norsemen, Dutchmen and moslem—moslem coins and valuations must have been familiar to the maritime provinces of northern and western Europe. The influence of the moslem ratio of value between gold and silver is especially noticeable. The ratio in the Roman and Christian systems was, until the thirteenth century, always 12 for 1; that in the Indian and moslem systems,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  for 1. This radical difference in the relative coinage value of the precious metals, maintained on both sides for centuries with little attempt at compromise or reconciliation, enables

of new silver dalers, designed to exactly equal the value of the depreciated notes, for which, it was expected, they would become interchangeable. It will be remembered that the old specie riksdaler (in which these notes were payable) contained about 390 English grains fine silver. The new coins were the riksdaler-banco, containing about  $146\frac{1}{4}$  grains fine, or three-eighths of the specie daler, and the riksgald (royal debts) daler, containing about  $97\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine, or one-fourth of the specie daler. The former represented the value of the bank-note, the latter that of the government note. Each of these dalers were subdivided into 48 skillings, each of 12 rundstyks.<sup>1</sup>

As, by the Royal Ordinance of October 26th, 1829, the government notes were made legal-tender for riksgald dalers, and no adequate provision was made for their retirement, the new coins, when not exported, were added to the circulation, and they still further lowered the value of all the dalers, including themselves. Upon observing this, the government hastened its arrangements for the retirement of its notes, and the operation was eventually concluded satisfactorily, not, however, until the confusion caused by the presence of three different classes of metallic dalers, skillings, and rundstyks had led to great annoyance.<sup>2</sup>

By the legislation of 1854, the old specie riksdaler and the new riksdaler-banco were abolished, leaving the riksgald daler the sole "unit of circulation" (a much better term than the misleading "unit of value" of the

<sup>1</sup> Consult table of the Talent or Riksdaler in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Lieut.-Colonel F. S. Terry, in two pamphlets, "The Great Currency Problem" and "Independent Standards," London, 1893, proposed to "restore silver" by introducing into other states a like system of two metallic moneys, the one silver, the other gold, both open to "free coinage," and both without limit, in either of which moneys people would be free to make their bargains. The Dutch authors of the Act of Charles II. gave us one illimitable and ever-varying measure of value; Colonel Terry's plan would give us two.



American statutes). The riksgald daler was now termed the riksmünt daler, its subdivisions of skillings and rundstycks were abrogated, and it was subdivided anew into 100 öre.<sup>1</sup> This legislation went into effect January 1st, 1858.

The religious fanaticism of Christian II, which had arrayed against him both the nobles and the commons of Sweden, also occasioned the secession of Norway from the Scandinavian union. The election of Frederick I, by the Danes, though it failed to conciliate the multitude who supported the standard of Gustavus Vasa, appears to have satisfied both the peoples of Norway and Denmark, whereupon, in 1523, these two States were joined under one government, and they so remained until 1813-14, when Norway again united with Sweden.

The monetary history of Denmark and Norway during most of this interval has been already sufficiently illustrated. Previous to 1813 the Danish monetary valuations were 1 specie riksdaler equalled  $1\frac{1}{2}$  sletdalers, 4 orts, 6 marks, 96 skillings, 192 fyrkes, 288 witten, or 1152 pfennings Danish; or one half of the like denominations in Hamburg, or Lubeck, or Schleswig-Holstein money. Thus the Danish specie riksdaler equalled 3 marks, or 48 skillings "Lubs," etc. In other words, the mark or skilling of Lubeck, etc., was worth twice as much as the mark or skilling Danish.

There were at this period no less than five different kinds of money used in Denmark. These were as follows:—

1. "Specie." The basis of this money was the "specie" or "effective" riksdaler of 390 down to 375 English grains fine, valued in law at 6 marks, or 96 skillings, etc., as above stated.

2. "Currency." This money consisted of suspended bank or government notes, and, according to Dr. Kelly, was  $22\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. worse than "specie." This is pre-

<sup>1</sup> Appleton's "Encyc.," xv, p. 217.

centuries, when moslem coins and valuations were current in the Baltic, the gold shilling ceased to be coined, and was superseded by parts of the gold dinar of  $63\frac{2}{3}$  grains fine. The silver dirhem of  $41\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine, of which ten went to the dinar (a ratio of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  for 1), was also in circulation among the Dutch ; a fact attested by the immense numbers of them found in recent years on the coasts of the Baltic and North Seas. From these circumstances I regard the silver pieces of Friesland, mentioned above, as typically quarter-dirhems. It is of no practical consequence whether they are regarded as quarter-dirhems or half-deniers ; only, if as half-deniers, they should bear a ratio of 12 to the gold shilling of the empire, which they do not ; whereas, if as quarter-dirhems, they should bear a ratio of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  to the quarter-dinars of Saracenic Spain, which they do.

There is no evidence that the ratio of 12 was employed in Holland, except at sporadic intervals, that is to say, under Pepin, and possibly for a brief period under Charlemagne ; for the latter struck few or no gold coins, probably none. It may have been again employed in the earlier Hapsburgh coinages of the fifteenth century. At all other periods, as is shown in a table further on, the ratio in Dutch coinage and mint valuations, from the Carlovingian period down to the year 1524, varied from 8 to 10 for 1.

From the date of their earliest coinages, down to the fifteenth century, the coins of the Netherlands which have fallen under my observation present no features of especial interest. The collection in the British Museum is not only wanting as to several provinces and numerous reigns of the Dutch princes, but many of the coins are in bad condition—clipped, bent, perforated with holes, or otherwise mutilated. Among the best specimens are a small silver coin of the count of Nassau, 1229–71, and another of Reynaud II, 1326–43—both of the quarter-dirhem type. Another of Philip le Beau, dux Geldria, weighs  $41\frac{1}{2}$  grains gross, and is evidently intended for a dirhem. The earliest gold coin in this collection is one of Charles

Egmont, duke of Gueldria, 1492-1538. It is stamped with the figure of a saint, who is styled the "patron of Gueldria," weighs 50·6 grains gross, and is apparently of about 22 carats fine. An earlier one, struck by Charles of Flanders, 1467-77, also stamped with the effigy of a saint, and weighing 51 grains gross, is in the possession of Mr. Lincoln, the London numismatist. These coins are ducats. There are no ducats of the fourteenth century in the Museum collection, yet that is the period when they possess the highest interest ; for they were then connected with the history of England. In 1343, after Edward III. had been authorised by the emperor to coin gold, and whilst he was making preparations to exercise this prerogative, it was intimated that the Flemings sold their wares only for Flemish gold florins (ducats), which were valued so highly in English silver coins as to render payment in the latter unprofitable to English merchants. In other words, by paying gold ducats with silver coins, the islanders are represented to have suffered a disadvantage ; whereupon the crown resolved that they should be enabled to pay with gold ones. Hence the issue of English double ducats of the year 1344. But as these were valued at six shillings, or 12 times their weight of silver, whilst the Flemish ratio was probably 10 for 1, the Flemings declined to accept them ; whereupon they were decried and withdrawn from circulation within the year. Still bent upon issuing a gold coin that should not only retain its place in the home circulation, but also obtain some currency abroad, Edward next (within the same year) issued the noble at six shillings and eight pence, a ratio of 11·06 for 1 ; the seigniorage being 9 per cent. But this coin the Flemings also objected to unless they were to be struck (under Edward's letter of authority) in Flanders, and also unless an amicable division could be made of the profits arising from their coinage. For this purpose commissioners were sent to Ghent, Bruges, and Ipre ; but nothing came of the negotiations. The ratio

which ruled in the Netherlands must have compelled the Flemings to demand either a re-valuation of the noble, or an entire abandonment of the seigniorage; conditions to which the English envoys were not authorised to assent. Froissart and Grafton both assert that a gold coin with the name of Edward was struck in Antwerp at this period; but no such coin has ever been found.<sup>1</sup>

In 1436 Holland was annexed to Gothic Burgundy, and in 1477 to Austria,<sup>2</sup> which governed it until 1506, when it was inherited by Charles V, of Germany, or Charles I, of Spain, himself a native of Ghent. During the Burgundian period, some of the Dutch ducats now called double ducats weighed 67 grains (British Museum ducat of Utrecht), and were 23 carats  $3\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine (Budelius, p. 249, "Old Double Ducat"). Hence they contained  $56\frac{2}{3}$  grains fine—substantially the same as the Venetian sequin of the thirteenth century. The halves were called gulden. The coinage ratio was 9 for 1, an inference derived from the silver ducat or ducaton, whose weight at this period varied from 513 to  $507\frac{1}{2}$  grains gross. It was valued equally with the heavier ducat or double gulden. None of these broad ducaton pieces are in the collection of the British Museum, but they are frequently mentioned by Budelius, where their weights and finenesses are given with great minuteness. They varied from 0.936 to  $0.916\frac{2}{3}$  fine, and were variously called ducations, riders, talents, king's-thalers, and Netherlands pennies. They were commonly struck down to the reign of Philip II, and occasionally down to the present century; but their value, as related to the gold coins, was seriously impaired, as

<sup>1</sup> Del Mar's "Middle Ages Revisited," chap. xix. The "dubble-ies" was in use during the present century ("Tour in Holland," by Wm. Chambers, 1842).

<sup>2</sup> The Austrian mint ordinance relating to the Netherlands was issued by Maximillian at Breda, December 14th, 1489. It provided for a gold florin  $39\frac{3}{4}$  English grains fine, valued at 12 times its weight in fine silver, a provision that practically nullified the ordinance and discredited the florins.



will be presently related, by the arbitrary legislation of Charles V. There was also a silver dollar of about two-thirds the same contents, which was valued at a gulden—a ratio of 9 for 1. This piece was the prototype of the existing German thaler, the old Turkish grouch, and many other coins.

If it seems difficult to believe that gold stood at so low a ratio to silver in the fifteenth century, perhaps the following ratios, taken from the coinages of France during that century, will render our deduction more credible:—Year 1403—ratios, 7·31, 7·84, and 7·87; 1411—6·64 and 6·85; 1417—9·60 and 6·40; 1418—6·67; 1419—7·30; 1421—9·49; 1423 (2nd Charles VII)—10·22; 1425—10·94; 1428—7·45; 1435—12·59; 1437—7·97; 1447—10·93; 1456—10·79; 1473 (13th Louis XI)—10·94; and 1475—10·98.<sup>1</sup>

It was during the thirteenth or fourteenth century that the stiver was added to the Dutch denominations of money. The ancient Roman libra of account had consisted of five solidi, or twenty quarter-solidi, or gold shillings. In like manner the Arabian maravedi (the Dutch gulden) was divided in Holland into twenty stivers. At a later period the Dutch talent, or silver ducaton, was divided into twenty stivers, each of about 25 grains of silver; the talent and gulden were therefore of the same value. When, in still later times, the ducaton, talent, thaler, or dollar, was lowered in weight, the stiver became a bronze or copper coin.<sup>2</sup>

The printing-press, the discovery of America, and the teachings of Erasmus—the Dutch leader of the Reforma-

<sup>1</sup> Del Mar's "Money and Civilisation," p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> In Locke's essay on "Money" it is stated that the Dutch ducaton bore a premium in Holland of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. over the newer and less valuable silver coins of the same denominational value, and that the ducaton passed for 3 guilders and 3 stivers. Locke was in Holland in 1682, and must have been thoroughly familiar with this subject; yet I cannot make these statements agree.

tion—all of which influences made themselves felt at about the same time, have been variously put forward by historians as the motive for the Revolt of the Netherlands. No doubt that all of these influences contributed to bring about the end; no doubt that religion was the most powerful of them all, and that the proceedings of the Councils of Trent, Ratisbon, and Worms, and the sudden and sinister alliance between the pope and the emperor, who down to this time had made numerous concessions to the Protestants, which now the emperor revoked, were among the immediate provocations to the rebellion. But there was still another motive behind this revolution. The learned Abbé Raynal disclosed this motive, in alluding to the disgust of the Netherlands with that edict of Ferdinand which had forbidden them to take part in the gainful commerce of the East and West Indies, by restricting it to "subjects of Castile."<sup>1</sup> Religion may have swayed the noble and even the common people; it was commerce that swayed the burghers.<sup>2</sup> This is proved by the revolt of Ghent in 1539, the ground for which was that the emperor's quarrels with Francis debarred the citizens of the town from the rich trade with France, and loaded them with taxes which they protested they could not afford to pay. It is also proved by the relative importance of the demands which were made by Prince Maurice, upon the conclusion of his campaign against Charles. After providing for the liberation of the imprisoned Elector, these demands were, first, that the grievances in the civil government should be redressed; and, last, that the Protestants should be allowed the free exercise of their religion.<sup>3</sup>

Among these civil grievances none could have been

<sup>1</sup> Raynal, 12mo ed., i, p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> "The parliament and the people, in their addresses to Queen Elizabeth, always mentioned the reformation of the coin, after that of religion, as one of the principal events of the reign" (Lord Liverpool's "Letter to the King," ed. 1880, p. 111).

<sup>3</sup> Robertson's "Life of Charles V," iii, p. 252.

more heavily felt in Holland than the monetary decrees of Charles V. In 1524 this monarch had raised the value of his gold coins in the Netherlands from 9 or 10 to  $11\frac{2}{3}$  times their weight in silver coins. This occasioned so much dissatisfaction that in 1542 he returned to a ratio of 10 for 1 by degrading his silver dollars—a mode of reparation hardly more satisfactory than had been the original offence. But the worst was to come. In 1546 Charles suddenly enhanced the value of his gold coins to  $13\frac{1}{3}$  times their weight in silver ones. In effect, this edict reduced the circulating medium of the Netherlands, which consisted substantially of silver coins, to scarcely more than two-thirds of its value previous to the year 1524. It was a blow that everybody felt, and felt at once; and it probably exercised no little influence to support both the operations of Maurice against Charles and the subsequent and more important operations which William of Orange directed against Philip.

To justly estimate the onerous character of this last monetary ordinance of Charles, it should be explained, for example, that it reduced the silver ducaton to two-thirds of its former value, or, which is the same thing, it raised the value of gold nearly 50 per cent., by substituting a debased ducat, first of about 37 grains, and next of about 35 grains fine, in place of the old ones of about 54 grains fine. Budelius (p. 249) mentions a ducat of Deventer on the Iessel, of 67 eschen, or 49·7 grains, which was only  $17\frac{1}{2}$  carats fine, and therefore contained but  $36\frac{1}{4}$  grains fine, and a “kaiser’s ducat,” evidently of Charles V, only 14 carats fine, and containing (if of the same gross weight as the former) only 29 grains fine; whilst the ducats of Philip, of the same gross weight, were only 16 carats fine, and therefore contained but  $33\frac{1}{3}$  grains of gold. Such a violent and sudden alteration of the value of money amongst a commercial people produced the greatest distress and commotion; and in view of the insurrections which have followed close upon the heels of arbitrary

monetary decrees in other States, it cannot be doubted that this measure was at least one of the causes that contributed to the revolution of 1572.

From this date, indeed, commenced a new era, not only in the monetary system of the Netherlands, but also in all the other states of the Western world. To understand its significance we must make a brief retrospect concerning the right of coinage.

In the imperial monetary system, which was planned by Julius Cæsar, matured by Augustus, and retained with more or less constancy down to the fall of Byzantium in 1204, the only full legal-tender money having a forced circulation in all parts of the Empire consisted of the gold coins struck by the emperor at Rome or Byzantium. The Emperor (in another capacity) also struck silver coins ; so also did the proconsuls, the subject kings, and the municipalities,<sup>1</sup> but as these coins had only a local course, and in some cases were entirely destitute of legal-tender function, and as the imperial taxes and tributes were payable only in imperial gold coins, or else in exactly twelve times their weight in silver ones (purity for purity), it mattered but little to the Imperial fisc what variations took place in the coinages of the latter. The Senate, which after the Augustan period was the mere creature of the Sovereign, enjoyed the monopoly of the bronze coinage. The lost Treaty of Seltz, which was made between Charlemagne and Nicephorus, not only necessarily defined the boundaries of the Eastern and Western empires, it must have contained a provision securing the monopoly of the gold coinage to the Basileus ; for, as a matter of fact, no gold coins were ever struck by any other Christian prince until after the fall of Byzantium. For the Netherlands, this covers the entire period from Charlemagne to Frederick II.

<sup>1</sup> Adam Smith (i, p. 320, Hartford ed., 1804) talks of the "allodial" right of coinage. This is sheer nonsense, and bespeaks a fundamental misconception as to the nature and function of money.



The Imperial system, therefore, consisted of something like what is now being proposed by currency doctors—an universal money for the whole European world, but with this essential difference: the Basileus alone struck such universal money, and therefore possessed the power to regulate its volume; whereas, according to the plan which is now being matured, each State—and especially if it permits unlimited coinage, subject to the demands of private individuals—will strike such money for itself, and there will be no united control of the volume. Whether such money be made of one metal or two metals will be of no consequence; it can never become an equitable or stable measure of value.

From the fall of the Greek capital to the revolt of the Spanish Netherlands, a totally different system of money prevailed in the states of Europe. Every king hastened to strike his own gold coins: Frederick of Germany, Alfonso of Leon, and Sancho of Portugal, in 1225; Louis of France, in 1250; the Republic of Florence, in 1252; and Henry III. of England, in 1257. Silver coins were also struck by these powers, and also by the barons and prelates subject to their authority; and both gold and silver coins were commonly made full legal-tenders, at the ratio of value fixed by each State. The supreme right of coinage, which previously was always wielded and but rarely abused by the Basileus, was now both exercised and abused by every petty prince in Europe.

During the Empire the gold coins had been stamped with sacred images and devices, a plan which, in a superstitious age, sufficed to preserve them from abuse. After the fall of Byzantium this restraint was relaxed; the sacred images disappeared from the gold coins, and both these and the silver coins were altered so often and so suddenly that it is difficult to follow either their composition or value. Edward II, of England, Philip le Bel, of France, and Charles I, of Spain, were only types of the mediæval adulterer of coins. The

practice was continued down to the beginning of the seventeenth century; and notwithstanding the apologetic theories or protestations of patriotic writers, no sovereign of this period was guiltless of it. Some of the alterations were no doubt rendered necessary by the dwindling stock and uncertain supplies of the precious metals, or were made for other good reasons; for, as Mr. Hallam has remarked, no ill results appear to have followed them. But others, as attested by their evil consequences, were evidently made for private profit to the king, or else resorted to as a ready means to fill an exhausted treasury.<sup>1</sup>

In 1524 and 1546 Charles V. suddenly raised by proclamation the legal value of his gold coins in Holland from 9 or 10 to  $13\frac{1}{3}$  times their weight in silver coins; and by this imprudent device managed to temporarily replenish his barren coffers. This was the straw that broke the patience of his long-suffering subjects. The Netherlands showed signs of revolt; even Spanish America remonstrated, and eventually (in 1608) the latter secured a notable concession of the regalian prerogative of money. Meanwhile, and during the reign of Charles, the revolutionary tendency in Holland was checked; but with the accession of Philip the Bigot it burst into fierce flames. The "Confederation of Beggars" was formed in 1566; the revolution was proclaimed in 1572; paper money was issued in 1574; the Jews of Amsterdam organised a sort of Wissel bank in 1607; and the bank of Amsterdam, which, under the authority of the city, imitated and then destroyed the Wissel bank and forbade the Jews from dealing in exchange, was established in 1609. "Free," or properly speaking, "individual" coinage, as it is still called by the Dutch, had long been permitted by the degenerate moslem governments of India, where Albuquerque found and Mascarenhas copied it (1555). From the Portuguese the evil institute was inherited by the Dutch East Indians, and

<sup>1</sup> Of this character were the coinages of Edward VI, of England.

by them it was brought to Holland. It was among the first measures resorted to by the revolutionary government, who, however, limited their legal-tender coins to silver, which was coined into "guilders," or florins, of  $160\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine. The operation of this system was promoted by the exchange transactions of the Jews, and the guarantee which their individual credit afforded to importations and deposits of bullion. It was further stimulated by the extension of Dutch commerce and by the superior credit of the bank of Amsterdam, with whose transactions substantially commenced the present system of individual money.

In this connection it will be interesting to observe that two years after the first edict of Charles V, to wit, in 1526, Henry VIII. of England felt obliged (in consequence of that edict, "forasmuch as coins of . . . gold . . . be of late days raised . . . in the emperor's low countries," and because there was an active trade with Flanders) to raise the value of the angel-noble of 80 grains gross, from 6*s.* 8*d.* to 7*s.* 4*d.*, and two months later to 7*s.* 6*d.*, in silver coins. Following is the text of the ordinance :

"Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God, King of England and France, defender of the Faith, lord of Ireland, to the most reverend Father in God, our most trusty and most entirely beloved councillor the lord Thomas, cardinal of York, archbishop, legat de Leicestre of the See Apostolic, primate of England, and our chancellor of the same, greeting. Forasmuch as coins of money, as well of gold as of silver, be of late days raised and enhanced both in the realm of France, as also in the emperor's Low Countries, and in other parts, unto higher prices than the very poise weight and fineness and valuation of the same, and otherwise, than they were accustomed to be current ; by means whereof, the money of this our realm is daily, and of long season hath been, by sundry persons (as well our subjects as strangers, for their particular gain and lucre) conveyed out of this realm into the

parts beyond the seas, and so is likely to continue more and more, to the great hindrance of the generality of our subjects and people, and to the no little impoverishing of our said realm, if the same be not speedily remedied and foreseen : We, after long debating of the matter with you and sundry other of our council, and after remission made unto outward princes for reformation thereof, finding finally no manner of remedy to be had at their hands, have, by mature deliberation, determined that our coins and moneys (as well of gold as of silver) shall be, by our officer of our mint, from henceforth made of such fineness, lay (alloy), standard, and value, as may be equivalent, correspondent, and agreeable to the rates of the valuations enhanced and raised in outward parts, as is afore specified.”

It will be recollected that during the Empire the supreme right of coinage was vested in the Augustus, or Basileus, who, in fact, never permitted the gold, or full legal-tender, coinage to go out of his hands; and that during the mediæval period (after A.D. 1204) it fell to the various princes and prelates who had inherited the prerogatives of the dead Empire. We shall next see it fall under the control of the Dutch and English merchants.

Under the private coinage law of the republic, the bank of Amsterdam, a private institution, received deposits of any kind of silver coins, giving credit only for the fine metal contained in them, and measuring its value in sols banco of twenty to the Dutch florin. Its payments were made upon the same basis. The bank also received gold coins on deposit, valuing them (in sols banco) at what they actually fetched in the mart of Amsterdam. This system deprived the gold and silver coins of Holland of such part of their value as they had previously derived from royal seal, proclamation, and seigniorage. It swept away alike the sacred effigies of Rome and Byzantium, the heretical inscriptions of Julin and Bardewic, the unjust valuations of Madrid and Sevilla,



and the temptation everywhere to tamper with any money destined for use in Holland. Indeed, it destroyed money altogether; it made a market value for the precious metals, a thing hitherto unknown; it practically established unlimited coinage, and thus substituted metal, in place of money, as the measure of value.

These revolutionary acts met with such immediate and marked success that they soon afterwards influenced the legislation of other States. Hitherto the precious metals obtained in America had vainly sought to evade the coinage exactions of the European princes; now the door of escape was open; they had only to be sent to Holland, turned into guilders and ducats, and credited as silver metal under the name of *sols banco*. But as the Spaniards and Portuguese still controlled the American mines, and jealously conveyed their precious products to the mints of the mother country, how were they to be practically diverted to Holland? The Dutch fleets and their allies, the buccaneers of the West Indies, at once answered this question, and the early settlers of New Amsterdam could have told many a tale as to how the plunder was safely transported to Holland. At a later period, when the English took New York, this class of bullion was quietly removed into Massachusetts, and there converted into honest "pine-tree" shillings.

Under the stimulus of "free" coinage, an immense quantity of the precious metals now found their way to Holland, and a local rise of prices ensued, which found one form of expression in the curious mania of buying tulips at prices often exceeding that of the ground on which they were grown. So rapidly did the influence of Dutch "free" coinage extend, that it induced the king of Spain to concede to his American colonies a right which had descended from the pagan gods to the pagan emperors, and from the pagan and Christian emperors to the independent princes who had seized the fragments of the Empire, but which had never yet been conferred upon a

Christian vassal or vassal state.<sup>1</sup> This was the right to coin gold, a right which was conceded to the American viceroys by the royal ordinance of 1608. But we have not yet done with the tulip mania. In 1648, when the Peace of Westphalia acknowledged the independence of the Dutch republic, the latter stopped the "free" coinage of silver florins and only permitted it for gold ducats, which in Holland had no legal value. This legislation discouraged the imports of silver bullion, checked the rise of prices, and put an end to the tulip mania.<sup>2</sup> However, it had other and far more important results. During the wars which ensued between Holland and England, the latter found so many reasons for admiring the government and administration of its rival, that it commenced to copy them in every detail, in some cases where the advantages of imitation were doubtful, or had passed away. The English deposed their king and established a republic in 1653: they planted colonies in America to rival those of the Dutch; they chartered their East India company on the same lines as the Dutch; they encouraged Morgan and other buccaneers to pillage the Spanish plate-ships and settlements; and they adopted "free" coinage. The English commercial literature of this period—for example, the works of Sir Josiah Child, Andrew Yarranton, and others—is filled with suggestions to follow the policy of the Dutch, whether as to colonies, navigation, banking, interest laws, coinage, warehouses, or land registries; and all of these measures were soon afterwards enacted in England, except the last one, which still hangs fire. Holland had dropped "free" mintage

<sup>1</sup> The emperor Charles IV, of Germany, 1347-78, "gave to all the members of the empire the privilege of issuing gold coins with any stamp they choose" (Partington, on the ducat). This was quite superfluous, for in fact most of the members of the empire had usurped this privilege a century previously.

<sup>2</sup> This mania had already been discouraged by a resolution of the States-General, dated April 27th, 1637, which threw some difficulties in the way of enforcing time-bargains in tulips.

for legal-tender coins in 1648; even France afterwards tried it in 1679, only to drop it in 1689. England, under the influence of its favoured classes, adopted it in 1666, and held on to it until, through other means, she had gained the commercial supremacy of the world, and was enabled (chiefly during the last and present centuries) to urge it upon other states. Then she dropped silver.

The monetary system of the Netherlands, which began with the Republic, consisted, first, of demonetising gold—an act in which can be perceived more of resentment against the arbitrary decrees of the Spanish monarch than wisdom in laying the foundations of a state. Second, it consisted of pasteboard dollars, which were issued in 1574, during the siege of Leyden, and of which some half-a-dozen specimens are now in the British Museum collection. These “greenbacks” of the revolution the Hollanders preferred to keep, rather than exchange for coins—*ad perpetuam liberationis divinæ memoriam*—in perpetual memory of their divine liberation from tyranny.<sup>1</sup> That they circulated beyond the precincts of Leyden, and effected an important augmentation of the currency and a rise of prices, is attested by the following quotations from Budelius (p. 269): The gold real, 1579, 45 stivers; 1580, 46; 1583, 47½; 1586, 52; and 1590, 53 stivers. The Philips silver thaler, 1579, 43 stivers; 1580, 45; 1583, 47; and 1586, 50 stivers. Here we see a gradual rise in the value of both gold and silver coins. In what? Certainly not in either gold or silver stivers, but in cur-

<sup>1</sup> Borniti, de Nummis, ed. 1605, i, p. 15. The revolutionary moneys of Leyden were of white pasteboard, round, about 1½ inches in diameter and stamped or embossed to resemble a coin. They took their origin in the first, but were perfected during the second, siege—that of 1574. Their denominations were 24 and 40 stivers. The former bore on one side, “*Haec. liberatis ergo,*” on the other “*Godt behoede Leyden,*” or God protect Leyden. The latter had the city arms on one side, and “*Pugno propatria*” on the other (Davies’ “*Hist. Holland,*” London, 1842, ii, pp. 9, 10). Silver pieces of the same stamp as the pasteboard ones were also issued (“*Catalogue Schulthess-Rechberg,*” 7048).

rency, and that currency necessarily of something else. Under the circumstances that something else could only have been wholly or partly of paper.

Thirdly, the Dutch system consisted of silver coins struck by the State, both on its own account and for the account of individuals ("free" coinage), and therefore without limit as to numbers. These coins—guilders and their multiples, namely, the ducaton, the reichsthaler, etc.—were legal-tenders to any amount. There was also "free" or individual coinage of gold; but as coins of this metal were no longer legal-tender in Holland, they were struck for circulation in other states, who, in using them, escaped the seigniorage and other coinage exactions of their sovereigns. Fourthly, subsidiary coins of silver and copper, which the Dutch State struck only for itself. Fifthly, the banking system, already described.

At the period when the decrees of Charles V, so greatly and suddenly raised the value of gold coins, Thomas Gresham, an English mercer and financier, was applied to by the ministers of Edward VI. of England for a loan of money. In the third year of his reign this boy king had arbitrarily raised the value of his silver coins to a ratio of 5·15 for 1 of gold; in his fourth year to 4·82 for 1; and in his fifth year to 2·41 for 1.<sup>1</sup> The profit made by the king in these transactions was, in the first instance, 113½ per cent.; in the second, 128 per cent.; and in the third, 356 per cent.<sup>2</sup> Gresham was unable to comply with the ministers' request, but said he thought he could raise the money in Antwerp. Accordingly, he was commissioned to proceed thither and effect the loan. He remained in Antwerp until after the death of the king and fall of the ministry, meanwhile advising them, what he had not ventured to set forth in London, namely, that a bad money will drive away good; and that before he could procure the needful loan in Holland, it was necessary for Edward to reform his monetary system. This cor-

<sup>1</sup> Lord Liverpool, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 101, 102.



respondence has been lauded by Mr. Henry Dunning MacLeod with fulsome praise, and the first portion of it formulated into what he has called "the Gresham law." That bad money, when made lawful, will drive away good, by causing the latter to be hoarded, is a law or principle of money which will be found in the "Frogs" of Aristophanes and the "Maxims" of Theognis written some eighteen or twenty centuries before Gresham's time; a principle that every tradesman in the interval had learnt by heart.<sup>1</sup>

For example, in 1341, after the emission of black money by Edward III, a great mass of sterlings and silver plate was collected in London and Boston, for private conveyance to the Continent; in other words, the bad money drove out the good; and everybody knew it.<sup>2</sup> This law applies equally to cabbages. It is not a law of money, but a truism that applies to all things. However, Gresham's remarks, perhaps, had the effect to bring about that permanence of the English monetary system, for which Elizabeth afterwards received so much credit; that princess having merely "completed the plan of reform which Edward had projected (or assented to) and had begun to carry into execution."<sup>3</sup>

Gresham successively served Mary and Elizabeth; and by the latter was honoured with knighthood. But did he serve the English people; did he serve the interests of the State? Not at all. He was faithful only to his own class, the money-lenders of London. Not a word appears in his correspondence of the tremendous monetary revolution that was then brewing in Holland; not a word of the imperial edicts that had raised the value of imperial gold from 9 or 10 to  $11\frac{2}{3}$ , and from  $11\frac{2}{3}$  to  $13\frac{1}{3}$ ; not a word of the resistance to these unjust decrees, or of

<sup>1</sup> "Maxims of Theognis," line 21: "Nor will any one take in exchange worse when better is to be had."

<sup>2</sup> "Middle Ages Revisited," chap. xix.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Liverpool, p. 104.

the fact that the regalian prerogative, which juriconsults and statesmen in all ages had shown to be indispensable to the exercise of independent sovereignty, was in jeopardy of falling into the hands of Dutch monopolists, and might afterwards fall, as it did fall, into the hands of English ones. This was the prerogative of coinage. Gresham was silent on this subject; and his silence on such a subject far outweighs the merits of that "discovery" for which his admirers have claimed him so much credit.<sup>1</sup>

But, indeed, who has properly written the history of Gresham's times; who has dived into this supernal but obscure subject of money, except men of the very same class who profited in pocket by the Dutch Revolution, its institution of private coinage and the subsequent private control of bank issues? Nobody. Is it yet clearly understood that whatever degradation of money was committed by the emperors, whatever debasement was afterwards committed by the kings, these have since been vastly exceeded by the dishonest use made of "individual" coinage and the control of bank issues? Not at all. The Emperors of Rome controlled the emissions of European money for thirteen centuries, and the kings and dukes for nearly four centuries afterwards; whilst the userers have held it, to the present time, for about two centuries. It is not too much to say that during these two centuries greater monetary changes have been made and more losses have been occasioned to the industrial classes of the European world than were made by all the degradations and debasements of the Imperial and regal periods put together. Monetary systems have been changed from gold to silver, from silver to gold, and from both silver

<sup>1</sup> Gresham remained in Antwerp until 1553. In 1553 Mary, and in 1558 Elizabeth, ascended the throne. In the last-named year Gresham was sent as ambassador to Parma, and in 1559 he was knighted (T. F. Burgon, "Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham," London, 1839, 2 vols. 8vo; Ward's "Lives of the Gresham Professors," p. 8).

and gold to paper; tens of thousands of worthless banks have been erected, thousands of millions of worthless notes have been issued, and the entire products of industry have been seized and perverted to the enrichment of a class, who know only how to scheme, to undermine, and to appropriate the earnings of mankind. The right to issue money needs a radical reform; and the State which reforms it first will secure for its citizens far greater advantages than can be derived from Zollvereins, tariff bills, or any other kind of commercial legislation. "The control of money," says an eloquent writer on the subject, "is the ground upon which an international or cosmopolitan combination 'finances' the world and 'farms' humanity."<sup>1</sup>

Writing in 1776, Adam Smith was at great pains to inform us what a strong institution was the "burghers," Bank of Amsterdam, how "for every guilder in gold or silver to circulate as bank money, there is a correspondent guilder in gold or silver to be found in the bank. The City is guarantee that it should be so. The bank is under the direction of the four reigning burgomasters, who are changed every year. Each new set of burgomasters visits the treasure, compares it with the books, receives it upon oath and delivers it over with the same awful solemnity to the set which succeeds; and in that sober and religious country oaths are not yet disregarded. A rotation of this kind seems alone a sufficient security against any practices which cannot be avowed. Amidst all the revolutions which faction has ever occasioned in the government of Amsterdam, the prevailing party has at no time accused their predecessors of infidelity in the administration of the bank. No accusation could have affected more deeply the reputation and fortune of the disgraced party; and if such accusation could have been supported, we may be assured that it would have been brought. In

<sup>1</sup> Reginald Fenton, Esq., formerly of Kimberly, South Africa, now of San Diego, California.

1672, when the French king was at Utrecht, the Bank of Amsterdam paid so readily, as left no doubt of the fidelity with which it had observed its engagements. Public utility and not revenue was the original object of this institution." Alas, for Dutch burgher patriotism, and the credulity of our great Scotch sophist! When, fourteen years later, that is to say, in 1790, the French again invaded Holland, they found the bank empty and insolvent. Even whilst Adam Smith was penning his panegyrics, it was secretly loaning away bullion which belonged to its depositors and noteholders. Its pious burgomasters were forsworn, the City was dishonoured, and the world received its hundredth useless lesson on the folly of trusting to the stability of a monetary system which is not absolutely under the thumb of the State.

*Coinage Ratios in the Low Countries (after 1579 in Holland only).*

Period, A.D.	Ratio.	Remarks.
30	8	Revolt of the Frisians against fiscal exactions of the Romans. The Roman imperial ratio was always 12 silver = 1 gold; but silver bore a higher value in the Eastern trade of the Baltic, and the Frisians (possibly from choice) paid their tributes in ox-hides ("Tac. Ann.," iv, c. 72). The prevalent ratio of the Baltic was 8 for 1 ("Anc. Brit.," chap. xvii).
286	8	Revolt of Carausius the Menapian. The mark of silver coins was in use as early, at least, as this date (vide Agricola, writing about 1550). Its substitution for the Roman libra of account, which now consisted of 5 gold solidi, each of about 90 grains fine, or else 12 times their weight in silver, implies a local ratio of 8 for 1.
Saxon	8	In the pagan coinages of Friesland, Jutland, etc., there were 8 silver siccals, saïgas <sup>1</sup> or

<sup>1</sup> According to the German law, vi, 3, "the saïga (or säica) is the fourth part of the tremissis; it is one denarius, and two saïgas are two denarii.



Period, A.D.	Ratio.	Remarks.
752	10	<p>iesterlings, each of about <math>18\frac{1}{4}</math> grains fine, to the gull siccal, or skillingar, of the same weight: a ratio of 8 for 1.</p> <p>Forty silver deniers, each of <math>17\frac{1}{2}</math> grains fine (300 to the livre weight) equal 1 imperial solidus (now) of about 70 grains fine: a ratio of 10 for 1 "Anon. Chron. Aquitaine," written in 843 and alluding to the period previous to Pepin's monetary reform of A.D. 754-68. Same authority, for same period, gives 25, instead of the ancient 20, quarter-solidi to the livre of account; leading to an inference that the Basileus struck light gold shillings to compensate for the heretical ratios of the North.</p>
753	11	De Vienne, "Livre d'Argent," p. 23.
754	12	<p>Pepin struck 264 deniers from the Roman pound weight and valued them at 40 to the solidus (now) of <math>66\frac{1}{2}</math> grains fine: a ratio of 12. The gold shillings were valued at 22 to the livre of account, of which the mint-master took one for himself, a proof that they were still light (De Vienne, pp. 20, 21).</p>
779	12	<p>Decretale precum. Charlemagne, in this decree, re-established the value of the gold shilling at 20 to the libra: he afterwards attempted to raise the value of these pieces by valuing them at 16 to the libra; but judging from the equivalents given in the Saxon and Frisian Codes, which he altered at this period, the attempt failed (De Vienne, p. 42).</p>
813	12	<p>Last year of Charlemagne. Petition of Council of Rheims against light solidi, which would not pass for 40 deniers (De Vienne, p. 36). Imaginary scheme of international money (ibid.).</p>
814	12	<p>Unique solidus of Louis Debonnaire of suspiciously fine execution, in Paris collection. Were this genuine it would be the last gold</p>

A tremissis is the third part of a solidus and equals four denarii." The manuscript which gives this valuation is of rather a low date. The Bavarian law of a much earlier period accords to the *säica* the value of three denarii: "Si una *säica*, id est tres denarios furaverit. . . . Si duas id est sex denarios" (Tit. ix, Art. 3, 4). There can be little doubt that, still more anciently, the *säica* was the *sicca* of the Orient which found its way through Tartary to the Baltic and there became degraded.

Period, A.D.	Ratio.	Remarks.
		coin struck by any Christian prince, except the Basileus, until A.D. 1225.
864	10	Charles the Bald: Edict of Pistes.
922	8	Inferential valuation of the besant in the ducal silver coins of Holland, Flanders, Brabant, etc.
1090	—	Poid de marc, a weight derived from marks (coins) introduced into France under Philip I. Down to this time it was only used in the Netherlands and England. Du Cange; Saigey; De Vienne, 58.
12th Cent.	8	Hanseatic money. The ratio under the pagan Hansa was probably 8 for 1: under the Christian Hansa, at first, probably 10 for 1 ("Anc. Britain").
1204	—	Fall of Constantinople: end of the pontifico-imperial monopoly of coining gold for the Roman world.
1220	8	Jutland Code of 13th century.
13th Cent.	10	Numerous changes of the ducal mint-laws during this and the two following centuries, the prevailing ratios being 8 to 10 silver for 1 gold. In 1284 the earl of Holland and Zealand purchased silver in England (Anderson's "Hist. of Commerce," sub anno).
1344	10	From valuation of the gold noble of Edward III. of England, in the ports of Flanders ("Middle Ages Revisited").
1437	9	Burgundian period of Flanders 1384 to 1477. The prevailing ratio was, however, 10 silver for 1 gold
1477	9 @ 10	Earlier coinages under the German imperial house of Hapsburg. The ratio in England (4 Edward IV.), year 1464, was $10\frac{1}{2}$ for 1.
1489	12	Later Hapsburg coinages. Edict of Breda by Maximillian, Dec. 14th. Abortive attempt to re-establish the Cæsarian ratio.
1511	9 @ 10	Gold nobles (half-marks) and silver groots of Flanders, Lorraine, Bar, etc., ratio 10; ducaton, ratio 9 for 1.
1519	9 @ 10	Charles V.: earlier coinages.
1524	$11\frac{3}{8}$	Charles V. Edict of Esslingen, June 19th, raising the value of his gold coins.
1529	$11\frac{3}{8}$	Charles V. The Holland mark-weight of 3797.2 English grains was this year officially compared with the Paris mark of 3777.5 English grains; and the former

Period, A.D.	Ratio.	Remarks.
		found to be 19·7 grains heavier (Boissard, p. 259). If the mark-weight developed from the mark of coins ("Anc. Brit.," ch. xvii), the superior weight of the Holland over the Saxony mark-weight probably arose when Pepin compelled 12 instead of 11 esterlings to be paid for a gull skillingar. The Amsterdam mark-weight was 3798 English grains.
1542	10	Edict of Esslingen by Charles V. Degraded Carolus dollars 354½ grains gross, or 302½ grains fine silver, valued at 20 stivers or one gulden of about 30 grains fine gold.
1546	13⅓	Edict of Charles V, again raising the value of his gold coins.
1552	13⅓	Thomas Gresham at Antwerp (Spanish government begins, 1555).
1556	13⅓	Abdication of Charles V.
1566	13⅓	Confederation of Dutch leaders against Spanish government.
1572	—	Revolution. Mercantile system of individual or "free" coinage. Gold demonetised.
1574	—	Pasteboard revolutionary money of Leyden.
1579	—	Union of Utrecht: separation of Belgium.
1581	—	The right of coinage, previously conferred by imperial authority upon the counts of Holland, transferred to the Spanish crown by Philip II, king of Spain and hereditary count of Holland; an act that further incensed the Hollanders.
1589	—	"Market" or conflict ratio of 11⅔ (Desrotours).
1598	—	Philip III, of Spain, cedes the Netherlands to Albert of Austria and the Infanta Isabella.
1607	—	Wissel Bank of Amsterdam.
1609	—	After the Edict of Esslingen the coins were greatly clipped, and both the Wissel Bank and the Bank of Amsterdam, which this year superseded it, were established, among other objects, to remedy this evil.
1609 to 1624	} — {	Rise of the Buccaneers; numerous captures of plate; and opening of Dutch oriental trade by sea. Immense sums of gold and silver obtained from Japan.
1628	—	Spanish plate-galleons captured near Matanzas with several million livres in gold and silver (Van Loon).

Period, A.D.	Ratio.	Remarks.
1640	14·45	"Market" or conflict ratio $12\frac{1}{2}$ for 1 (Desrotours, 1785; Gaudin, 1803).
1648	14·45	Independence of Holland recognised by Spain. Individual coinage limited to gold, which, however, at the mint ratio of 14·45, is undervalued as compared with foreign mints. (The Spanish mint ratio of 1650 was 15 for 1.)
1672	14·45	Most of the gold ducats of the German states now struck in Holland for individual account.
1717	14·45	Newton's report gives the ducat or 5-florin gold piece, stamped "Legem Imperii," at 52·39 grains fine, and the silver florin at 148·9 grains fine; a ratio of 14·31 (Kelly, ii, p. 153, hints at Inexact Assays: this might account for the discrepancy). Newton also says the ducats were current in Holland for $5\frac{1}{4}$ guilders. This is evidently correct, and indicates a "mint-conflict" ratio, or so-called "market" ratio, of 14·92. The imports of gold noticed by him were due in some measure to the large foreign coinage of ducats in Holland.
1734	14·45	Desrotours says 14·45; Dutot says 14·67; which last is incorrect.
1785	14·45	Desrotours.
1791	14·45	Hamilton's Report of this year says 14·90; evidently the "conflict," not the "coinage," ratio. Gold coins being now greatly undervalued, as compared with foreign mints, they cease to circulate in Holland.
1806	15·20	Law of December 15th. "Double standard" under Louis, king of Holland. Gold 400-stiver piece 193·4 grains fine. Silver 50-stivers should contain $406\frac{2}{3}$ grains fine; actual contents (Kelly) 367·9 grains fine: ratio 15·2 for 1.
1816	15·87	Union with Belgium. Mint Act, September 28th, 1816. The "William" of 10 florins was to contain 93·465 grains fine gold; the florin 148·39 grains fine silver: legal ratio 15·8765. The assays of Eckfeldt and Du Bois gave but 46·52 grains fine to the ducat, and 148·74 grains fine to the florin: actual coinage ratio 15·98. Gold coinage for individuals stopped. Silver coinage for individuals (one and three-florin pieces)



Period, A.D.	Ratio.	Remarks.
		again permitted. Chevalier, p. 155, says that there was no gold in circulation until 1839. Foundation of New (present) Bank of the Netherlands, 1814.
1830	15·87	Separation of Belgium.
1839	15·60	Gold coins again circulate in Holland (Chevalier; Vrolik).
1847	15·60	Russian gold "scare." Mint Act, September 26th, 1847. Gold demonetised. The silver florin lowered to 145·85 grains fine (Schmidt's "Tate's Cambist;" Del. Mar's "Money and Civilisation," p. 17).
1850	15·60	Gold coins melted and sold at a loss of ten million florins (Vrolik).
1857	15·60	Gold coins again cease to circulate in Holland (Chevalier, pp. 78, 149).
1873	15·60	Nevada silver "scare." In accordance with an Act of the previous year the individual coinage of silver was this year suspended.
1875	15 $\frac{5}{8}$	Mint Act, June 6th. Ten-florin gold coins to contain 93·334 grains fine, and open to individual coinage. Mint still closed to individual coinage of silver. Old silver coins not demonetised ("Etalon boiteux," Greven).
1877	15 $\frac{5}{8}$	Same provisions extended to Colonial coinage (Greven).
1884	15 $\frac{5}{8}$	A portion of the circulating silver authorised to be melted and sold, in order to buy gold for bank payments.
1893	15 $\frac{5}{8}$	The money of Holland now consists chiefly of paper notes, about £16,000,000, secured by a "reserve" in gold and supplemented by a subsidiary silver circulation. Population about 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ millions, exclusive of Colonies. The home circulation fluctuates between £3 and £4 per capita, coins and paper combined.

From this table it will be observed that the ratio in the Netherlands, from the earliest times nearly to the reign of Pepin, was 8 for 1; in the early part of the Carolingian era, about 12 for 1; between that period and the fall of Constantinople, from 8 to 10 for 1; during the

ducal period about 10 for 1; and that it was fixed by Charles V. at  $13\frac{1}{3}$ , whereupon gold was demonetised through the influence of the East Indian traders and the burghers. Since that time the ratio in Holland has followed that of Spain and France.<sup>1</sup>

In Holland the history of the ratio is almost the whole history of money. It was the ratio that distinguished its earlier monetary systems from that of Rome; it was the ratio that, until the Carlovingian era, marked it a pagan State, allied, by commerce, with the pagan cities of the Baltic and the great pagan Hansa, whose fleets transacted the maritime commerce of all northern and western Europe; it was the ratio that proclaimed the monetary systems of its ducal masters a cross between that of a struggling nationality and Imperial Rome; it was the ratio that fanned into a flame the embers of that resistance to Imperial authority which had been crushed under foot, but had never wholly lost their fire; it was the ratio by means of which the traders and money-lenders first asserted their undue importance in the State; and it was the ratio, snatched by their strong hands from the prerogatives of the Crown, that has enabled them to rule the State and make Holland "a nation of usurers." When they wrested from the Empire what is virtually the prerogative of coinage, they demonetised gold and declared silver coins alone fit for the high function of legal-tender; when the monarchy of 1816 was erected, they submitted to a system of gold and silver coins; but no sooner did the lapse of time strengthen their hands, and the great yield of the Russian gold mines afford them a pretext, than they agitated and brought about that reliance upon a single metal (at a time) which constitutes the fulcrum of the mercantile system. Here the real character of the burgher

<sup>1</sup> The ratios in Holland which appear in Dr. Adolf Soetbeer's works are purely hypothetical, and were probably not intended to be regarded as the results of any examination of the coinage laws or coinages of that country.

class discloses itself. Their patriotism was not for Holland, but for the burghers. Dr. Vrolik has in vain endeavoured to defend them from this imputation, by alleging that the "silver standard" was not adopted after the discovery of gold in California, but before it.<sup>1</sup> But he has adroitly omitted to mention that it occurred upon the heels of the great discoveries of gold in the Ural, and that it is distinctly traceable to that event. Leon Faucher very correctly attributed to this unpatriotic class an "insurrection of fear." It was fear for their beloved securities that superinduced this measure, which cost the State ten millions of florins and the Dutch people ten thousand millions; and it was the same craven fear that in 1873 induced this class to clamour for that "gold standard" which now sustains their investments, but which lowers their claims of patriotism to the sordid level of their breeches pockets.

The existing Bank of the Netherlands was established at Amsterdam in 1814, nearly on the plan of the Bank of England. Its original capital, of which the king was always to hold one-tenth, was five million florins. This capital was doubled in 1819, and has since been increased to twenty million florins. The bank has the right to strike coins for the State, to issue circulating notes, discount bills, lend money, and deal in bullion and foreign coins. It was this institution which, in opposition to Lord Liverpool, furnished the reasons for monetising gold, and for establishing the "double standard" in 1816; which showed in 1847 (the Russian gold mines were then very productive) that gold was unfit for legal-tender money; which in 1873 (zenith of the Comstock Lode) proved, with equal facility, that silver was useless, and gold the only proper metal for money; and which doubtless stands ready, whenever the relative production of silver shall decline, to furnish equally pliant arguments against more plentiful gold, and in favour of scarce silver. In a paper

<sup>1</sup> Speech of Dr. Vrolik in "Rep. Inter. Monetary Conference, 1881."

read by Professor H. B. Greven, of Leyden, before the British Association at Manchester, September 7th, 1887, it is stated that in 1881-82 the Bank's stock of gold fell to £600,000, and that, to provide against a recurrence of such a calamity, an Act was passed in April, 1884, which empowered it "to sell at market prices a quantity of twenty-five millions silver florins, when the state of the currency required it." According to this authority, the regulation of the currency of Holland lies between the Bank and the bullion-brokers. It is a healthy national constitution that can survive such a combination.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

### GERMANY.

Until A.D. 1204 the right to coin gold in Germany was a pontifical prerogative—It then practically became a regalian right, which in great measure was absorbed by the two principal German states—Legalised as a regalian right by the Golden Bull—Exercised as such by numerous princes and by the burghers, until 1871, when it was acquired for North Germany by the New Empire—Thereupon it was almost immediately abandoned to the burghers—Monetary systems of Germany during the regal period—French forgers of the sixteenth century—Earliest monetary conventions—Sudden enhancement of gold by Charles V—The German states and burghers demonetise gold—Silver becomes the sole material of legal-tender money—Monetary systems of North Germany—Conventions of sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries—The ratio—The banks—Paper money—Plunder of Napoleon—His downfall—Confederation of the Rhine—New system—Weights—Origin of the ducat, skilling, and thaler—Constitution, convention, and currency thalers—Later monetary conventions—Quantity of money circulating in Germany—History of the ratio—Burgher or “free” coinage—The California scare—Treaty of 1857 tabooing gold coins—The Nevada scare—Legislation of 1871-73, demonetising silver coins—French War Indemnity—Great increase of paper money—Efflux of gold in 1873-74—Operation of the new mint laws—Gold and silver production of Germany—Dr. Soetbeer, the evil genius of German monetary policy—The future.

**T**HE history of money and monetary systems in Germany springs from the monetary laws of the Roman Empire, a subject which has been treated at length elsewhere. Briefly, the right to strike gold coins was vested exclusively in the Sovereign-pontiff, who usually resided, and exercised this function, in Rome or Byzantium. Such coins were unlimited legal-tenders in all parts of the Empire. The principal gold coin was the solidus, or

besant, of 72 down to 60 grains fine.<sup>1</sup> Five of these made the libra of account.<sup>2</sup> The striking of silver coins was shared between the Emperors and the subject princes, prelates, and municipalities of the empire. The Imperial silver coins were legal-tender in the "Imperial," not in the "Senatorial" provinces; the other silver coins had only a local course. The striking of bronze coins was reserved to the Senate. The Imperial tributes were collected in gold coins, or else in silver coins containing exactly twelve times as much fine metal as the gold ones. Hence, for a solidus of gold, was demanded a talent of silver.

Substantially, this system continued unchanged until after the fall of Constantinople, in 1204, when all the princes of Europe commenced to strike gold coins for themselves; and the Roman Imperial system fell, to rise no more. With the exception of a certain unique and very doubtful gold piece attributed to Louis de Debonnaire, no Christian prince of Germany ever struck a gold coin until Frederick II, in 1225, issued his magnificent augustals. Instead of making their weight conform to the besant of his day, Frederick put in these coins nearly 82 grains fine gold, the weight of a double maravedi or dobla of the Saracens:—a fact, which, when added to other circumstances, sufficed in brief time to consign them to the melting-pot. Although the right to strike gold coins was not legally acquired by the German princes until it was conferred, together with the working of mines, by the Golden Bull of Charles IV, December 25th, 1356, yet practically these princes were governed by the

<sup>1</sup> The solidus descended from the aureus of  $131\frac{1}{4}$  grains, and in the thirteenth century was lost in the ducat of 56 grains. This again was in the sixteenth century degraded to the gulden of  $37\frac{1}{6}$  grains. There it expired, and became a silver coin. The weights of the solidus given in the text are those which prevailed during the Roman Imperial monetary system.

<sup>2</sup> Theodosian Code, lib. xiii, tit. ii, 11; "Ita ut pro singulis libris argenti quinos solidos inferat." Argenti here means money, not silver.

example of Frederick, and as a matter of fact many of them had issued gold coins before the date of the imperial ordinance.<sup>1</sup> This closes the first period of German monetary systems. The palsied hand of Rome had reluctantly dropped the prerogative of gold, and a host of independent cities and princes had purchased or picked it up. We shall presently see what they did with it.

From the fall of Constantinople to the discovery of America is a period of great confusion in the monetary history of Germany. Although the Roman empire had lost its control of money, it had still enough vitality to split Germany into two great parties, whose perpetual antagonism and undying hatred served to keep the country always embroiled in civil wars. The ensuing political chaos is faithfully reflected in the coinages. They exhibit every kind of corruption, deceit, degradation, debasement, and even forgery. To crown all, the ratio of gold to silver, which the Roman and Byzantine monarchs, throughout all their vicissitudes, had kept constant for nearly thirteen centuries, was now changed almost every day, by some one or other of the numerous princes who divided, distracted, and misruled the splendid empire of Charlemagne. Whether their motives were governed by the interests of their principalities or by the desire of private gain, is hardly worth discussing. Their monetary experiments were too trivial to furnish the basis of monetary principles, and they yield scarcely more than a single lesson of any value to posterity. It is this: that the right of coinage, which during this period fell from the Basileus into the hands of kings, princes, prelates, and burghers, was abused by the latter, not because they were rulers, but because they were petty ones, so petty that their private interests were scarcely less important than those of the State, and, indeed, cannot always be distin-

<sup>1</sup> Edward III. of England was authorised to coin gold in 1337, but Henry III. in 1257 had coined gold without authority ("Middle Ages Revisited," ch. xxx).

guished from them. In other words, it was not the States, but the petty rulers of the Renaissant period who tampered with money.

These corruptions of money, the pet theme of politico-economical pedantry, were in many cases a necessity of the times. It was the period of the First Renaissance. Europe, enthralled for thirteen centuries by the pontiffs of Rome, had recently thrown off its shackles and begun its march of progress. On Midsummer Day in 1237, the emperor Frederick assembled at Vaucouvers the first secular council of nations ever held in Europe ; in 1241 he wrote to Henry III, that the affairs of the world were no longer to be monopolised by the priesthood ; whilst the magnificent eagles which he stamped upon the imperial coins in place of the agonised saints of a previous period, were no less significant than his resolute defiance of pontifical tyranny. With the inauguration of this progressive era commenced a great increase of industry, of wealth, and of population. Mines of gold and silver can neither be discovered nor rendered productive at pleasure. They are not amenable to man's control, but are the subjects of adventitious discovery and fortunate development. Hence in progressive eras supplies of the precious metals fail to keep pace with the demands of society. During the Renaissance felted paper was a novelty and printing was unknown. How was a measure of value to be supplied sufficiently ample to sustain prices ? The people answered this question by clipping the coins, and the princes of Germany tacitly supported the action of the people by degrading and debasing their subsequent issues. It is scarcely to be expected that these multiplications of money should have kept even pace with the demand for its use. The clippings probably failed to supply the additional requirement for money ; the legal degradations and debasements probably exceeded it. Because princes sometimes took advantage of the public necessity for increased money to make some profit for the State by



debasing it, is no just warrant for condemning either their honesty or wisdom, especially at this late day, when the circumstances of the times are unknown or forgotten. They probably did the best they could do under the circumstances. As the stock of gold and silver relatively diminished, these metals increased in value. Rents and other fixed payments running through long terms became unjustly and oppressively augmented. To have refrained from debasing the coins would have been to increase the burdens of the people until they found relief in revolt and the overthrow of the State.

Debasement of the coinage during the period of the Renaissance, was in fact commonly inaugurated not by the prince, but the people. It was done by clipping, sweating, or otherwise diminishing the quantity of fine metal in the coins ; so that, when under a subsequent edict of debasement and re-coinage they came to the mints, the princes really gained little or nothing by the transaction, and merely gave the force of law to what was already an accomplished fact.

In vain were the most terrible penalties enacted against those who tampered with money—as torture, hanging, drawing and quartering. These penalties were boldly risked every day by people who had never committed any other offence, and would probably never have committed this one but for the pressure of that law of legal-tender from which the mines of this period afforded an insufficient relief.

I repeat, that the monetary experiments of the Renaissance period, whether in Germany or any other of the Western Christian states, are of little use as guides to modern legislation. A portion of them were not the experiments of States, but the financial shifts of individuals ; another portion were dictated by the hampered and stationary condition of mining as compared with a growing population and commerce ; while still another portion, (changes in the ratio) were due to the loss of that central

control which the Roman imperial government, at Constantinople, had exercised over the coinage and the silver valuation of gold. Hence it is that among the few writers on money who have condescended to consult history on this subject, and who have a case to make against this or that kind of money, they invariably select this period of chaos for the foundation of their special pleadings. Leave out of view the Roman control of money and its loss with the fall of Constantinople, ignore the influence of the moslem and Gothic monetary systems, avoid all mention of the usurpation of the coining prerogative by the trading companies, adventurers, and monopolists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and you can prove anything you like about money,—you can even prove that money is not money at all, but merely bits of metal whose value is governed by the present economic cost of their production in the mines!

Although the right of coinage continued to be exercised by numerous rulers in Germany, down to the period (1871) when it fell to the new empire, yet it was practically absorbed for several centuries by the Austrian and Prussian monarchies, whose extensive territories, numerous population, diversified industries, or great military resources, enabled their coinages to substantially fill the channels of circulation.<sup>1</sup> The strangest circumstance is that the new empire had no sooner acquired this most important of all imperial or regalian rights, than, under the advice of Dr. Soetbeer and his Metallic School, it was immediately abandoned to the burghers. Fortunately, it is within the power of the imperial government to resume this prerogative whenever it chooses. This is a subject to which we shall revert further on.

On June 8th, 1386, that is to say, shortly after the ordinance of Charles IV, the four Electors of the Rhine entered into a coinage union which had for its object the

<sup>1</sup> For history of money in Austria, see "Money and Civilisation," ch. xviii.

uniformity of the coins and their preservation from abuse. This was distinctly a national act, the happy precursor of that Bund which five centuries later drew all the North German states from under the mouldy and rotten canopy of Rome to that of a common Fatherland. In the sixteenth century the importance of the new supplies of gold and silver from America led to a rise of prices, which, beginning in Spain, soon spread to France and the commercial cities of Europe, but not yet to Germany. In that country the comparative scarcity of money was to some extent supplied by the spurious mintages of an organised band of forgers, who resided in France. The marquis of Tavannes, a representative noble, rendered his class odious and his name ridiculous by recommending the coinage of iron commodity money in place of gold and silver coins, with the selfish view to arrest the rise of prices. He assures us that many French nobles of this period retained professed forgers in their castles, dignified them with the title of "philosophers," and fraternised with them by admitting them to their tables. Because they refrained, or professed to refrain, from counterfeiting French coins, and confined their operations to German ducats, thalers, and florins, they complacently deemed themselves free from all reproach. The example set by the barons was followed by the monarch. Charles IX. (1560-74) was himself an expert forger of coins, and devoted much of his leisure time to this elevating pursuit. The practice reached its climax in the reign of his successor, Henry III, when, owing perhaps to the precautions taken in Germany, the art of baronial forgery fell into inferior hands and suffered a rapid decline. Salcede, who was executed for treason in 1582, had purchased a large estate from the profits of forging German coins.<sup>1</sup>

In the same century a *Correspondenz* was formed

<sup>1</sup> Tavannes, pp. 132-33; Brantome, iv, cap. Fran., p. 29, in Wraxall's "Hist. France," ed. 1795, ii, p. 334; Busbeg, Letter viii, in Wraxall, ii, p. 438.

between several of the German states, providing mainly for uniform coinages and a general circulation. The texts of several monetary ordinances of this period are given by Budelius.<sup>1</sup>

This century witnessed an extraordinary event in Germany. During the regal period—from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century—the common ratio of silver to gold in the coinages of Germany was about 10 for 1. By an imperial edict dated at Esslingen, November 10th, 1524, Charles V. ordered the mark of gold to be coined into 89 gold guilders,  $\frac{1}{12}$  fine, and the mark of silver into 8 talents, or thalers,  $\frac{1}{16}$  fine. As this talent and guilder had the same value, this was a ratio of 11.38 for 1. In 1546 the emperor, who, although he struck no gold coins in Spain, monopolised the coinage of gold in Holland, Germany, Italy, and America, suddenly raised by proclamation the value of his gold coins to  $13\frac{1}{3}$  times their weight in silver of the same standard. These arbitrary acts lie at the base of the Dutch revolt, and had much to do with the subsequent history of Germany. That vast country was not yet sufficiently united for revolt, but it expressed its reprobation of this measure by boycotting gold. One after another the German rulers forbade or discouraged the tendering of gold coins in payment of debts. From this time forward the gulden was commonly paid in silver coins; the ample ducaton, or talent, of silver, supplanting the unpopular and discredited ducat of gold.

The arrest of commercial development, which followed these conflicting acts, was one of several causes which led

<sup>1</sup> The legislators who met at Nuremburg in 1438 even went so far as to hint at private mintage as a remedy for the corruption of coins, a suggestion that was actually realised some two centuries later. Such a device, as it afterwards proved, was indeed a remedy for corrupt coins, but not for an unstable and fluctuating measure of value; a proof, if any were needed, that coins separately and coins collectively, or a monetary system (like separate individuals and the body politic) conform to very pifferent natural laws.



to the disturbed state of Germany during the seventeenth century. Religion has commonly been assigned as the pretext both for the revolt of the Netherlands and the Thirty Years' War. Upon a closer inspection of the circumstances which gave birth to these great events, the decrees of Charles V., the demonetisation of gold, the fall of prices, and the industrial depression that followed, will all be found lurking behind.

But the fierce passions evoked by these wars, and the horrible scenes which characterised the last one, swept away all recollection of the causes that led to them.<sup>1</sup> Though many valuable treatises on money had been written in the interval—notably those republished by Budelius—which ought to have directed public attention to the subject, they were consigned to obscurity. The Peace of Westphalia should have been accompanied by the rehabilitation of gold; but no statesman of the period appears to have perceived the plain truth, that Germany could not share the commercial prosperity of the maritime states of Europe so long as she excluded from her legal-tender circulation one-half of the world's accumulations of the precious metals.

The German monetary systems of this era were almost universally based upon silver coins. In Prussia, for example, the circulation (not to mention base silver coins and coppers) was filled chiefly by the currency-thaler, legally of  $257\frac{3}{4}$  English grains fine silver, actually 252·6 grains fine, and the gold ducat, of legally 53·14, actually 52·6 grains fine, each ducat being nominally valued at  $2\frac{3}{4}$  currency-thalers. This was a nominal ratio of  $13\frac{1}{3}$ , and a coinage one of  $13\frac{1}{5}$  for 1; thus— $2\frac{3}{4} \times 257\cdot75 = 708\cdot8125 \div 53\cdot14 = 13\frac{1}{3}$ ; or,  $2\frac{3}{4} \times 252\cdot6 = 694\cdot25 \div 52\cdot6 = 13\frac{1}{5}$ . But gold coins were not legal-tender; people accepted or refused them at pleasure, and virtually their coinage was relinquished to individuals who deposited their bullion in the mints of Holland or England, where it was coined

<sup>1</sup> Bayard Taylor's "Hist. Germany," pp. 409-10.

into ducats or nobles that had no permanent legal value in Germany. In short, the Prussian system of money stood essentially in the same attitude that it did when Germany refused the gold coins of Charles V.

Beyond the so-called empire, the effects of the ill-timed ordinance of 1546, though of an entirely different character, were fully as eventful. That command of the ratio which Rome had so long maintained by the force of pontifical law, Spain had acquired through her practical monopoly of the supplies of the coinage-metals from America. The edict of Charles V. flung this advantage away. It taught the kings of Spain (for Charles was king of Spain as well as emperor of Germany) a new device whereby to replenish their treasuries. In 1641 they raised the value of their gold coins to 14 times that of silver; in 1650, to 15; and in 1690 to 16 times. Here this strained device broke down, and Spain lost the hegemony of the ratio. The abandonment of the coinage of both the precious metals in Holland and England to individuals, and the virtual demonetisation of gold in Germany, had erected, for the first time in the history of the European world, a conflict price, or international mint ratio of value, between the precious metals, which at the last-named period stood at about  $14\frac{1}{2}$  for 1. Measured by the conflict-ratio, that in Spain was too high; in Prussia too low. In deference to the new arbiter of mint ratios, the crown of Spain hastened, in 1760, to lower the value of its gold to  $14\frac{1}{4}$ , and in 1775 to raise it to  $15\frac{1}{2}$ . The imperturbable Prussians simply varied the premium on gold ducats.<sup>1</sup>

Returning from this digression to an account of German monetary conventions; in 1667 was effected the coinage agreement (Recess) of Zinna, to which the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg and the house of Brunswick-Luneburg were substantially parties. Passing over some minor ordinances of 1669 and 1680, in 1690 a coinage union, based on the Lubeck system, and establishing a

<sup>1</sup> Kelly's "Cambist."

common coinage rate, was effected at Leipsig between the same parties. This rate was made common throughout the now shadowy empire by the decree of September 10th, 1738.<sup>1</sup> On September 21st, 1753, a coinage treaty was effected between Austria and the electorate of Bavaria, to which in the following year several other German States acceded. The table below shows that under this treaty was struck a convention-thaler of  $353\frac{3}{4}$  grains fine silver. In 1763 an imperial decree—which, however, excepted Prussia, Hanover, Liege, Swedish Pomerania, Hamburg, Lubeck, and Holstein; that is to say, the kernel of the future North German Bund—established a convention coinage rate of 20 florins, or  $13\frac{1}{2}$  riks thalers currency, or 10 riks thalers effective, to the mark of fine silver. This gives 180·4 grains fine silver to the florin, 270·6 grains fine silver to the riks thaler currency, and 360·8 grains fine silver to the riks thaler effective. The table below shows that the Austrian “effectives” struck under this convention actually contained but 353·7 grains, and that Saltzburg alone struck them of full weight. On February 22nd, 1765, and January 19th, 1766, coinage unions were effected at Frankfort and Worms between the Electors of Mainz and Treves, the palatinate Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt and the free city of Frankfort; and in 1772 these conventions were modified.

Meanwhile the fluctuations of gold and the unsatisfactory condition of all monetary institutes, occasioned by the arbitrary mint laws of Spain and the surrender of the coinage in Holland and England to individuals (called “free coinage”), promoted the foundation of the banks of Berlin and Breslau in 1765, and suggested the Prussian royal ordinance of 1766. This ordinance extended to the banks and their branches throughout the king’s dominions. Following an ancient Roman precedent, the king authorised and ordered their accounts to be kept in “pounds,” or “thalers banco,” each divided into 24 banco groschen,

<sup>1</sup> Kelly’s “Cambist.”

and these into 12 banco pfennigs; hence there were 288 pfennigs to the "pound." Although Prussia did not see fit to join with Austria in the Convention of 1753, she nevertheless coined a silver thaler, not indeed of precisely the weight provided by that Convention, but very close to it, and fully or more than equal in weight to the Convention thalers of the other German states. This was the so-called Prussian Convention thaler of (actually) 359 grains fine. It was also the "pound" or "banco thaler" of Frederick the Great. We shall revert to its historical origin later on. The currency thaler of 252·6 grains fine was  $29\frac{5}{8}$  per cent. lighter than the banco thaler. These the banks gave credit for at the rate of  $31\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. worse than banco, and thus made a profit of  $1\frac{5}{8}$  per cent. on all deposits of silver "currency."<sup>1</sup> The gold ducats, of (nominally)  $2\frac{3}{4}$  currency thalers each, fluctuated, in silver money price, with the conflict-ratio. During the third quarter of the eighteenth century the ducats and "Fredericks," or pistoles, the latter (nominally) of 5 currency thalers each, were taken by the Prussian banks at a price in silver which closely agreed with the Dutch mint ratio of  $14\frac{1}{2}$ ; whereas towards the close of the century, and for a long time afterwards, it was distinctly influenced by the combined Spanish and French ratios of  $15\frac{1}{2}$ .<sup>2</sup> The banks of Prussia were authorised by the decree of 1766 to issue notes of 10, 20, 50, 500, and 1000 "pounds" each, but these were not legal-tenders until a later period.

The political storm which ravaged Europe towards the beginning of the present century was not without its effects on the monetary history of North Germany. The Confederation of the Rhine was established in 1806, and expired in 1813; the paper notes of Prussia were nationalised in 1806, and are in circulation to-day. By a decree published in 1807 they were to be taken for coined money, at a rate of exchange to be officially pro-

<sup>1</sup> Kelly's "Cambist."

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



mulgated from time to time. Between December 1st, 1807, and February 28th, 1809, the premium on silver money fluctuated between 7 and 27 per cent.; in June, 1809, the notes stood at 36 per cent. of their nominal value; June, 1810, at  $84\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; January, 1812,  $13\frac{1}{2}$ ; December, 1812, when, of eight million thalers issued, there were believed to be only three quarters of a million in circulation,<sup>1</sup> the notes stood at only  $44\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; June, 1813,  $26\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; July, 1813,  $24\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; December, 1813,  $49\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; January, 1815, 88 per cent.; January 5th, 1816, 99 per cent.; afterwards at par.<sup>2</sup> The Saxony treasury notes never fell below 98, and the government retired them in 1804 at an agio, which began at 9 pfennigs and ended at 1 pfennig, per thaler.<sup>3</sup> But Prussia was in the centre of the hurricane, and was obliged to increase her emissions of paper, and to enforce its circulation. In January, 1815, refusal to accept the notes at par, except in certain cases, was made punishable by a fine of 500 to 1000 thalers, or by six to twelve months' imprisonment. In April, 1815, it was ordered that the moiety of all taxes should be paid in paper money, or that, if not,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. should be added as a penalty. In 1827 this penalty was reduced to one silver groschen; and although long fallen into desuetude, it was not abolished until 1870. In 1830, 1841, and 1848 the banks sustained runs for the redemption of the paper money. In the run of 1848 the demand did not exceed 40,000 thalers per day, nor altogether 100,000 thalers.<sup>4</sup> Previous to this (1846) the amount annually presented for redemption did not exceed four-tenths of 1 per cent.<sup>5</sup>

In the early part of the century the stock of the precious metals in Germany was greatly reduced by the depredations of Napoleon, who sent the spoil to France, and thus

<sup>1</sup> Decree of January 19th, 1813, sec. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Roscher, i, p. 454; ii, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., i, p. 448; ii, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Bergius, "Tübinger Zeitschrift," 1870, p. 226.

<sup>5</sup> Rau, "Archiv," v, pp. 125, 207.

conferred upon its mints that hegemony of the ratio (the Spanish  $15\frac{1}{2}$ ) which it held for nearly a century, but to which it was entitled neither by prescription, nor through its mines, nor its commercial advantages.<sup>1</sup>

With the downfall of Napoleon, Germany resumed her wonted calm and industrial progression.

On June 8th, 1815, the Confederation of the Rhine was supplanted by the Germanic Confederation, which for a time united not only North Germany, but also Austria, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg.

The monetary system of North Germany at this period is described by Dr. Kelly. It was based on the currency thaler, which he gives at 257·78 grains fine silver. The gold ducat of 53·14 grains fine, was valued nominally at  $2\frac{3}{4}$  currency thalers—a nominal ratio of  $13\frac{1}{3}$  for 1. The gold Frederick, or pistole, of 93·45 grains fine, was nominally valued at 5 currency thalers—a nominal ratio of 13·8 for 1. The first is the old Charles V. ratio; the second a modification of it. But neither of these ratios were effective, for gold coins were not legal-tender and the ducat commanded a premium of 20 per cent. and the pistole 15 per cent.; making the effective ratio about 16 for 1, the same as in Spain. However, during the first quarter of the century the premium on gold fluctuated within limits that varied the effective ratio between the Spanish mint ratios of  $15\frac{1}{2}$  and 16; a proof, if one were needed, that the hegemony of the ratio was not in Germany.<sup>2</sup>

The system of weights for the precious metals in Cologne during the sixteenth century is thus given by Budelius:—32 ieschen or eisen, or moments = 1 esterling, engel, or pennyweight; 19 engels = 1 ounce; 8 ounces = 1 mark. The ies contained 0·74177625, say  $\frac{3}{4}$  of 1 English grain; the esterling, 23·737 grains; the ounce, 451; and the mark, 3608 grains.<sup>3</sup> The Cologne weights

<sup>1</sup> This subject is treated in "Money and Civilisation."

<sup>2</sup> Kelly, i, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> In this system 2 ieschen were called a duisch; 3 a trii; 4 a quart, etc.

of the eighteenth century are thus given by Dr. Kelly :— 17 ieschen, or eschen = 1 pfennig ; 4 pfennigs = 1 quintlin ; 4 quintlins = 1 loth ; 2 loths = 1 ounce ; 8 ounces = 1 mark. The ies contained 0·829045, say 0·83 of 1 English grain ; the pfennig, 14·09375 grains ; the quintlin, 56 $\frac{3}{4}$  grains ; the loth, 225 $\frac{1}{2}$  grains ; and the ounce and mark, the same as before. To the experienced metrologist it is evident that both of these are hybrid systems, originating remotely in the octonary numbers and relations of the sun-worship practised in the countries of the Baltic. In the first system it takes 4864 ieschen to make a mark ; in the second, it takes but 4352. The odd numbers of 19 engels to the ounce and 17 ieschen to the pfennig—taken in connection with the common use of coins in ancient times, both for weights, measures, and other numerical relations—suggest that the basis of the system was not the mark, but the ies ; a suspicion that, could it be safely established, would upset a good many current theories, both metrological and numismatic.<sup>1</sup>

The weight system of Troy (Troyes) was as follows :— 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  ieschen, or moments = 1 grain ; 24 grains = 1 esterling, or pennyweight ; 20 esterlings = 1 ounce ; 8 ounces = 1 mark of 3840 English grains. Here the ies contains exactly  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a grain.<sup>2</sup>

The system of Nuremburg (Noribergensis) was as follows :— 1 pfennig = 14·336 English grains ; 4 pfennigs = 1 quintlin ; 4 quintlins = 1 loth ; 2 loths = 1 ounce ; 8 ounces = 1 mark of 3670 grains.<sup>3</sup>

It is well known that the name of the ducat is derived from dux or duke, but the significance of the name is lost in failing to observe that the coin itself is a degraded solidus, and that it was called a ducat only after the right to coin it was lost by the Basileus and usurped by

<sup>1</sup> Some features of this subject are discussed in "Money and Civilisation," chap. i, and "Ancient Britain," chap. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Budelius, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> The subdivisions are from Budelius, whilst the equivalents in English grains are from Kelly.

the dukes, prelates, or vassal princes of his moribund empire. The last gold coins struck by the Basileus were the solidi of the Comnenus family, toward the close of the twelfth century, containing each a trifle under 60 grains fine gold; the first ducat was struck by Alfonso IX of Leon, in 1225, and contained  $54\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine gold.<sup>1</sup>

The name of the skilling is evidently derived from the oriental "sical," or cut money, whence we have also "sicca," "shekel," "scissors," "chisel," and many other names for cutting-instruments and their products. Cut money and knife-money were both common in the Orient and doubtless made their way, at a very remote period across the steppes of Tartary to the Baltic.<sup>2</sup>

In a former work I followed the voice of numismatic authority and assigned the origin of the name "thaler," or "dollar," to "thal," or "dol," a vale or valley, and repeated the idle tale of Budelius about the Joachimsthal and Count Schlick. I am now convinced that the thaler has a far more significant origin. The ancient Greek and Roman systems both included coins or sums of money called talents, neither resembling, nor immediately connected with, the weights called talents. In the regal and ducal systems of the Renaissance, when the prevailing ratio was 10 silver for 1 gold,<sup>3</sup> broad silver coins were struck each containing 10 (in the Gothic States 8) times as much fine metal as a gold ducat, and known variously as a talent, ducaton, cross, scudo, ecu, or silver ducat, and valued as one gold ducat. From the thirteenth century, when it contained  $565\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine silver, the talent, or thaler, gradually dwindled down to about 400 grains, when it was known in Germany (this was in the sixteenth century) as a Constitution thaler. During the following century the thaler lost some 30 or 40 grains

<sup>1</sup> "Middle Ages Revisited," ch. xx.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., ch. xxxvi.

<sup>3</sup> "Della Decima, della Moneta e della Mercatura," Florence, 1765, shows that from 1262 to 1495 the mint ratio in Florence was always close to 10 for 1, sometimes a fraction over and sometimes under.



nore, and was called a Convention thaler. When another hundred grains were lost it was called a currency thaler. The following tables exhibit the gradual degradation of this famous coin.

*Talent or silver thaler of the Renaissance and afterwards.*

	Eng. grs. fine.
Croisat of Genoa (Newton) . . . . .	565½
Same piece, called scudo (Kelly) . . . . .	565½
Scudo, Piedmont, 1770 (K) . . . . .	490
„ „ 1755 (K) . . . . .	489
Ducaton, Holland, old (K) . . . . .	474¾
„ „ new (K) . . . . .	471¾
„ Liege, 1671 . . . . .	465½
„ Tuscany, 1676 . . . . .	460
Scudo della Croce, Venice (K) . . . . .	458¼
„ of Genoa, 8 lire, 1796 (K) . . . . .	457½
„ Ligurian Republic, 1805 (K) . . . . .	454½
Ecu of Lorraine, 1710 (K) . . . . .	427

*German Constitution thalers.*

Austria, Sigismund, silver gulden . . . . .	452
Esslingen, Charles V, 1524, silver gulden . . . . .	423¾
Augsburg, „ 1551, „ . . . . .	425
„ „ 1559, „ 60 kreutzers . . . . .	353½
Cologne, reichs or riks thaler, 18th century . . . . .	404
Nuremburg . . . . .	402¼
Hanover . . . . .	400⅓
Austria, before 1753 . . . . .	390

*German Convention thalers—mostly eighteenth century.*

Hamburg reichs-thaler, 1687 to 1850, average weight . . . . .	385¾
Frankfort-on-Maine, 1772 . . . . .	365½
Saxony . . . . .	360¾
Brunswick, 1753 . . . . .	359⅓
Prussia, Nuremburg and Manheim . . . . .	359
Bavaria, 1753 . . . . .	358¾
Saltzburg . . . . .	358⅓
Austria, 1753 (nominally 361 gr.), actually . . . . .	353¾
Cologne . . . . .	353¾
Hesse Cassel . . . . .	353

*Germany Currency thalers—eighteenth century (Kelly).*

		Eng. grs. fine
South Germ., riks thal.	Treaty Sept. 21st, 1753, legal	270·6
Hesse Cassel, riks thaler,	1778, actual . . . . .	270·3
”	” 1789 . . . . .	259·7
Poland, 1794, new riks thaler	. . . . .	254·3
Prussia, riks thaler . . . . .	. . . . .	252·6
Auspack (Prussia) old riks . . . . .	. . . . .	250·6
Saxe-Gotha, riks . . . . .	. . . . .	248·1
Bareuth (Prussia) old riks . . . . .	. . . . .	223·3

These tables show the gradual degradation of the thaler in Germany. In Spain and America during the eighteenth century it never fell below  $371\frac{1}{4}$  grains fine, and there it stands to-day in the coinages of the United States. In Spain it has since fallen to 349·17 grains fine, whilst in North Germany, where it is still an unlimited legal tender, it contains but  $257\frac{1}{8}$  grains fine, and is legally valued at three imperial marks.

On the 25th of August, 1837, a monetary convention was concluded at Munich between several States of the German empire.<sup>1</sup>

On the 30th July, 1838, a monetary convention was concluded at Dresden between the States of the Zollverein in which the old weight of the Cologne mark (3608 English grains) was recognised as equal to 233·855 metric grammes. The mark of fine silver was agreed to be coined into 14 thalers, or  $24\frac{1}{2}$  florins. From 1st January 1841, the thaler above defined was to be the sole full legal-tender money of the Prussian States, Saxe-Royal, Electoral Hesse, Saxony, Saxe-Altenburg, Duchy of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Schwartzburg-Rudolstadt, Schwartzburg-Sonderhausen, and the Reuss States. The florin was to be the sole full legal-tender money of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, Ducal Hesse, Saxe-Meiningen, Ducal Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Nassau, Principality of Schwartzburg-Rudolstadt, and Frankfort. Besides this, a new coin of 2 thalers, or  $3\frac{1}{2}$  florins, was to be struck, 7 to the

<sup>1</sup> MacGregor's "Statistics," i, p. 543.

mark fine, which should be legal in all the States of the Zollverein.<sup>1</sup>

The coinage laws above established were ratified by the Treaty of Berlin, March 8th, 1841. Coins fabricated agreeably to these provisions were declared the legal-tenders of the Union.<sup>2</sup>

On March 27th, 1845, a coinage treaty was effected at Munich.

On October 21st, 1845, a monetary cartel was effected at Carlsruhe, to provide for the punishment of all offences against the prerogative of coining and of issuing paper money. To this cartel, and to another one effected February 19th, 1853, all the States of the Zollverein were parties.

The total circulation of a given State is the most important feature of its monetary system, since it is that which influences prices, and can be made to exercise a most powerful influence in stimulating or retarding industrial progress. Yet it is precisely that feature concerning which we commonly possess the least reliable information. The usual method of estimating the circulation is to add together the coinages, the paper emissions, and the imports of coins, and to subtract the exports and an allowance for re-coinages, wear, tear, and loss. But this method is so defective that it can only furnish a remote approximation to the truth.<sup>3</sup> The table below embraces most of the estimates which have fallen beneath the author's observation. Such estimates as were originally made in other denominations of money than German currency thalers are reduced to that denomination upon the following rough scale of equivalents:—3 imperial marks (of 1871) = 1 currency thaler;  $1\frac{1}{2}$  currency thalers = 1 convention thaler, or 1 Spanish or American dollar;  $6\frac{2}{3}$  currency thalers = 1 English pound sterling. Sums of money in millions of currency thalers.

<sup>1</sup> MacGregor's "Statistics," i, p. 544.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., i, p. 507.

<sup>3</sup> For a more ample discussion of the subject consult "Science of Money," chap. iii.

*Estimated Circulation of Prussia (Millions of Thalers).*

Year.	Silver.	Gold.	Total Coin.	Paper.	Grand Total.	Pop.	Per Cap.	Authority.
1790	—	—	33 $\frac{1}{3}$	6 $\frac{2}{3}$	40	5	8	Young, 1790. <sup>1</sup>
1804	—	—	—	—	60	10	6	Krug. <sup>2</sup>
1805	—	—	—	—	57 $\frac{1}{3}$	7	8 $\frac{1}{4}$	U.S. Finance Report, 1834. <sup>3</sup>
<i>Estimated Circulation of New German Empire.</i>								
1837	—	—	—	—	240	30	8	Del Mar. <sup>4</sup>
1850	—	—	—	—	400	34	12	Del Mar. <sup>5</sup>
1867	400	20	420	60	480	38 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	Del Mar. <sup>5</sup>
1867	403	15	418	62	480	38 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	Soetbeer.
1870	581	34	615	253	868	39	22 $\frac{1}{4}$	Soetbeer, 1881.
1870	554	30	584	253	837	39	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	Soetbeer, 1885.
1870	490	30	520	253	773	39	19 $\frac{3}{4}$	Soetbeer. <sup>6</sup>
1871	554	30	584	260	844	40	21	Soetbeer. <sup>7</sup>
1872	420	45	465	356	821	41	20	Rep. U.S. Bu. Statistics, Sept., 1873.
1873	426 $\frac{1}{2}$	106 $\frac{1}{2}$	533	459	992	42	23 $\frac{1}{2}$	Crisis. <sup>8</sup>
1874	—	—	557	453	1010	42	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	Gold Efflux. <sup>9</sup>
1876	266 $\frac{1}{2}$	266 $\frac{1}{2}$	533	402	935	43	21 $\frac{3}{4}$	Anonymous. <sup>10</sup>
1876	—	—	346	335	681	43	15 $\frac{3}{4}$	"
1876	333	343	676	323	999	43	23 $\frac{1}{4}$	Wagner, "Mon. Com.," 1876, i, pp. 195-6.
1877	220	230	550	317	867	43	20	Anonymous.
1878	400	133	533	300	833	43	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	"
1879	298 $\frac{2}{3}$	516 $\frac{2}{3}$	815 $\frac{1}{3}$	273 $\frac{1}{3}$	1088 $\frac{2}{3}$	44	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	Soetbeer. <sup>11</sup>
1879	266 $\frac{2}{3}$	266 $\frac{2}{3}$	533 $\frac{1}{3}$	273 $\frac{1}{3}$	806 $\frac{2}{3}$	44	18 $\frac{2}{3}$	London "Statist," May 17th, 1879.
1885	297	581	878	300	1178	46 $\frac{3}{4}$	25 $\frac{1}{4}$	Soetbeer, 1885.
1892	300	467	767	458	1225	48	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	Indian Curr. Com., 1893, p. 211.
1893	315	900	1215	470	1685	49 $\frac{1}{2}$	34	Leech. <sup>12</sup>
1894	300	387	687	480	1167	50	23 $\frac{1}{3}$	Del Mar.



It is evident that some of these estimates are little more than conjectures, based upon currency theories. Soetbeer's later estimates are too high in gold. A tolerably safe and approximately correct estimate of the circulation of all Germany would probably be £1 per

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NOTES TO THE TABLE.—<sup>1</sup> Rau, ii, p. 161, says that in 1780 Berlin bank-notes commanded a premium, but he fails to say in what. Probably in Convention thalers. <sup>2</sup> Krug, i, p. 244; Roscher, i, p. 374, n. 1. The discrepancy in the population is probably due to the inclusion of Prussian Poland, for which, however, Krug makes no allowance in his estimate of the circulation. <sup>3</sup> This estimate (1805) was made by the authorities of Prussia, forwarded to the government of the United States, and published by the latter in their Annual Finance Report. <sup>4</sup> Memminger credits Wurtemberg in 1840 with a total money of about 12 currency thalers per capita (36 million gulden), whilst B. Hildebrand credits the Electorate of Hesse in 1853 with about 8 currency thalers per capita, of which nearly one-half were paper notes (Roscher, i, p. 374, n. 2). <sup>5</sup> In August, 1869, the various states of the Confederation (exclusive of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden) had in circulation paper money to the amount of 40,652,742 thalers ("Rep. U.S. Bu. Stat.," Sept., 1873). <sup>6</sup> This is a revised estimate made by Soetbeer, and is probably nearer the fact than his previous statements relating to this period. On January 21st, 1870, the Bank of Prussia and its branches had in circulation 142½ million thalers, the other banks of the Confederation 70½ millions, and South Germany say 40 millions; total, 252½ millions ("U.S. Bu. Stat.," Sept., 1873). The coin estimate (after Soetbeer) is given in Roscher, i, p. 374, n. 2. <sup>7</sup> Year 1871. In this estimate the paper money is evidently understated. <sup>8</sup> Year 1873. Paper money 106 millions more than previous year. <sup>9</sup> In 1873-4 a portion of the French War Indemnity gold was drawn away from Germany. In 1875 the issues of paper money were 1205 million marks ("U.S. Com. Rel.," 1875, p. 534). <sup>10</sup> In 1876 the paper money was wrongly stated at 1038 million marks ("U.S. Com. Rel.," 1876, p. 304). Of this amount 402 millions were "uncovered" ("U.S. Con. Rep.," 1875). <sup>11</sup> Year 1879. In Soetbeer's estimate the gold is greatly exaggerated. <sup>12</sup> Mint Director of the United States (Report, 1893, p. 52). The Director says: "Uncovered notes, 59,680,000 American dollars," equal to 89,520,000 German thalers. As "uncovered notes" involves an assumption and a theory which as applied to currency statistics may not be sound, I have included the whole issue of notes. However, its extravagant amount of gold renders the estimate worthless.

capita at the beginning of the century ; something less than £2 in 1850 ; and about £3 10s. at the present time. The average circulation of all Europe and America in 1893 was about £3 per capita, including paper money. At the rate of £3 10s. per capita Germany has in circulation more than an average share of the money of the Western world.

Besides her circulating money Germany possesses a war-chest of the precious metals, which, according to Arthur Young, amounted in 1790 to £15,000,000 sterling in silver, and which at the present time is said to consist of 40,000,000 thalers in gold.<sup>1</sup>

Before taking leave of the statistics of the circulation it may be proper to observe that German monetary statistics are not exceptionally inflated ; that exaggeration characterises such statistics in most countries ; and that the world's commerce is in fact conducted upon a much smaller metallic basis than is commonly supposed.

In a foot-note to the table given above it is held that to include in the circulation of a State only that portion of its paper money which is "uncovered" by a reserve or guarantee of coins or securities involves an assumption and a theory which may not be sound, and that for this reason all the paper money issued was included in the table. It is now in order to briefly examine this subject. The assumption referred to is that when coins or bullion are deposited as a reserve to secure the payment of notes, it is erroneous to count both the coins or bullion and the notes as portions of the circulation. The answer to this is that so far as regards bullion, it is not money, that it is not counted in the circulation at all, and that to omit to count the notes issued upon its guarantee, or assumed guarantee, would be to omit an important element

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Young, "Travels in France," i, p. 519 ; "Rep. U.S. Bu. Stat.," Sept., 1873, p. 137 ; "Rep. Indian Curr. Com.," 1893, p. 211. The German war-fund (Act, Nov. 11th, 1871) is at Spandau entirely withdrawn from circulation.

of the circulation. The same answer applies to government bonds,—indeed, to any other form of reserve except full legal-tender coins. With regard to the latter, could it always be positively ascertained what proportion of the reserve consisted of such coins, it is admitted that to count them, together with the notes issued upon their guarantee, as portions of the circulation, would be erroneous; but such is not the case. Banking establishments do not, as a rule, specify what proportions of their reserves consist of full legal-tender coins. For example, the Bank of England has the right under the Act of 1844 to hold one-fifth of its reserve in silver, which, whether coined or uncoined, is not full legal-tender. But it is not required to, and in fact does not, inform the public how much of its reserves consists of such silver. I am privately informed that at the present time no portion of its reserve consists of silver. According to Professor Greven the Bank of the Netherlands enjoys a similar privilege, the proportion of silver being not merely one-fifth, but whatever the Bank deems proper. Says that authority: “Every banker knows that when he needs gold for export, and the Bank (of the Netherlands) cannot pay in gold, it will give him so much silver as will enable him to buy a quantity of gold equal in value to so many gold coins as the notes offered for payment represent.” In the United States the same bag of coins often masquerades now as the reserve of one bank, and now of another. How far similar subterfuges are employed in the various private banking establishments of Germany is not known, and in the absence of such knowledge it is deemed safer to include the entire paper issues in the circulation. This at least is a known quantity; the “reserves,” as experience has too often and too sadly proved, may only exist in the playful imagination of that fortunate class who have secured the prerogative to issue bank money. So much for the assumption that the value of bank reserves

should be deducted from the sum of coins and notes. Now for the theory of "uncovered paper."

According to this theory the privilege to issue paper money is justified if the issuer retains a reserve, let us say, in full legal-tender coins, sufficient, under ordinary circumstances, to meet the demands for the payment of his issues. This is a very disingenuous presentation of the case; and the economists, never suspecting its artfulness, have been content to discuss the amplitude of reserves and other details of a like character, wholly neglecting to inquire whether there is not another aspect of the reserve theory which is of superior importance to the State, than security for payment of the notes. That superior aspect is the absence of any guarantee that the notes shall remain in the circulation—a guarantee that has never been demanded by governments and never offered by private banks of issue, from the fatal day when they were first chartered to the present. And yet it needs but little reflection to perceive that the interests of the State, of society, of industry, of commerce, and the arts, are jeopardised a thousand times more by a contraction of the currency, than by the losses which A, B, or C may sustain in failing to receive payment for the notes they may hold of the banks. Such losses are the misfortunes of individuals, and are soon repaired; but contraction of the currency is a wound inflicted upon the State—or in other words, upon the active forces which constitute its strength,—and against such a wound, bank reserves offer no defence whatever.

Some particulars of the history of the ratio in Germany have already been given. The following remarks and table will render this account more complete and continuous. Down to the thirteenth century the ratio in the coinages of the northern states of Germany, including Lubeck and Hamburg, varied but slightly from the Roman pontifico-imperial ratio of 12 for 1. During the thirteenth century the influence of the Roman ratio for the first time



exhibited signs of decline. Less silver and more gold was now put into the coins of the various Christian states or provinces, and still less into those which, like Pomerania and the Baltic provinces, had been but recently converted to Christianity, and had previously coined at the Gothic pagan ratio of 8 for 1. For example, the talent of 1484 only contained 451 grains, a ratio of 8 for 1; while in the coinage of the Teutonic monk-knights during the last thirty years of the fifteenth century the ratio was 9 for 1.

The enhanced value accorded to silver in the German states during the Renaissance period is shown in the following valuations derived from the average of purchases (not the issues) of the Lubeck mint:—A.D. 1411, average for eight years past 12 for 1; 1451, average for forty years past 11·7 for 1; 1463, average for twelve years past 11·6 for 1; 1475, average of several North German coinages for one year 11 for 1. Speaking generally, the coinages of the Renaissance exhibit a ratio of about 10 for 1; but the exceptions were numerous. However, the ratio never exceeded 12 for 1; and silver was sometimes raised to a fourth, a third, and even to half the value of gold, weight for weight.

With the discovery of America commenced a new order of affairs. The control of the ratio, which Rome had lost and the Christian princes of Europe had acquired, was now monopolised by Spain, through its command of the new supplies and its comparatively vast coinages of the precious metals. We have seen how these advantages were abused by Charles V, and our table will therefore commence with the ratios established by that monarch.

*The ratio between silver and gold in Germany.*

Year.	Prussian legal ratio.	German conflict ratio.	Remarks.
1524	$11\frac{3}{8}$	10·00	Edict Chas. V. at Esslingen.
1546	$13\frac{1}{8}$	10·00	Edict Chas. V. Gold boycotted by the Germans.
1551	$13\frac{1}{8}$	11·17	Deduced from coinages of Upper Germany.
1559	$13\frac{1}{8}$	11·44	Deduced from coinages of Ferdinand I.
1623	$13\frac{1}{8}$	11·74	Deduced from coinages of Ferdinand II.
1641	$13\frac{1}{8}$	12·00	Desrotours; the empire generally.
1667	$13\frac{1}{8}$	14·15	Deduced from coinages of Upper Germany. Leopold I.
1669	$13\frac{1}{8}$	15·11	Deduced from coinages of Upper Germany. Leopold I.
1690	$13\frac{1}{8}$	14·50	Deduced from quotations in Berlin "banco."
1753	$13\frac{1}{8}$	14·50	Coinage Convention of Vienna, September 21st.
1766	$13\frac{1}{8}$	14·50	Deduced from quotations in Berlin "banco."
1780	$13\frac{1}{8}$	15·00	Deduced from quotations in Berlin "banco."
1790	$13\frac{1}{8}$	15·50	Deduced from quotations in Berlin "banco."
1821	14·0	15·50	Law, September 30th. Frederick d'or 103·1 grains = 5 thalers of (nominally) $257\frac{3}{4}$ grains each.
1867	14·8	14·50	Hamburg (only). The gold ducat varied from $51\frac{1}{2}$ to $52\frac{3}{4}$ , average $52\frac{1}{8}$ grains fine, but was not legal-tender. Average Convention thaler $385\frac{3}{4}$ grains fine; legal value, half a ducat; ratio 14·8; thus. $385\cdot75 \times 2 = 771\cdot50 \div 52\cdot125 = 14\cdot8$ (Newton; Kelly).
to		to	
1850		15·50	
1851	—	15·50	Various conflict ratios, 15·21 to 15·59. <sup>1</sup>
1866	$15\frac{1}{2}$	15·50	North German Bund.
1871	$15\frac{1}{2}$	15·50	New Empire. Gold coin system adopted. <sup>2</sup>

NOTES TO TABLE.—<sup>1</sup> During the years 1851–65 gold was highest in 1851, and lowest in 1854. In other years the ratio fell between these extremes ("Rep. U.S. Mon. Com.," 1876, i, p. 192. <sup>2</sup> One hundred and fifty million currency thalers retained in the circulation; but the legal-tender of all other silver coins limited to 20 marks, or  $6\frac{2}{3}$  thalers, in any one payment.

It must be remembered that for a great portion of the period embraced in this table we are dealing not with one government and one law, but with many governments and many laws, and it should be read with allowances. The legal or mint ratios shown in the first column are mainly those of Prussia and the North German Bund; the first ones ( $11\frac{2}{3}$  and  $13\frac{1}{3}$  for 1) were fixed by Charles V, and the second ( $15\frac{1}{2}$  for 1) by the mint laws of the Bund in 1866. During the interval 1790 to 1866 there appears to have been no legal ratio in Prussia, and the value of gold followed the conflict ratio, which, however, was mainly governed by the Spanish and French mint ratios of  $15\frac{1}{2}$ , established in 1775, 1785, and 1803. The Hamburg (and approximately the Lubeck) mint ratio during most of this period was 14.8 for 1; but as gold coins were not legal-tender, they followed the conflict which resulted from the mint ratios adopted by the principal coining states of the period, namely, Spain, England, and France. The conflict ratios shown in the table are approximate quotations intended to cover all North Germany; but as, during the period it embraces, Germany held no control of the ratio, these quotations are little more than reflections of the prices paid for gold (in silver) at the mints of the principal foreign coining states.

We are now prepared to continue our account of those monetary conventions which have done so much to bring the German states under a united and powerful rule. On January 24th, 1857, was effected the important coinage treaty of Vienna. At this period the commercial world was agitated by a strange disease; the fear that so much gold would be produced from the mines and pass into the form of money, that a disastrous rise of prices—that is, disastrous to millionaires—would ensue sufficient to shake the foundations of society. In vain had Von Humboldt, whose familiarity with history and whose acquaintance with mining should have entitled him to speak with some authority on the subject—in vain had

this most illustrious of Germans and of savants assured the world that the vast disparity between the world's stock of coins of the precious metals, compared with any additions that might be made to it, rendered the latter a very trifling factor in the account ; in vain had he shown that but a small proportion of the mining product of gold and silver was fabricated into money ; in vain did he advert to the increasing needs of an augmenting population.<sup>1</sup> In vain had Hume and other able writers shown that rises of prices occasioned by an increase of metallic money had benefited not only the poor, but the rich as well. The individuals who had controlled the coinage of money, and augmented or restricted its volume at pleasure, the money-lenders and usurers of Frankfort and Amsterdam, knew better. Von Humboldt's book, "The Fluctuations of Gold," was consigned to oblivion, and the essays of the Metallic School were hailed with applause, translated into all languages, and published in every country of Europe and America. This school taught the luminous doctrines that value is both a noun and an adverb ; it is both a thing, an attribute, and a relation ; it is and it is not the same as price : "price is value in relation to a substance ;" money is both a noun and an adverb ; it is a thing and an attribute of a thing ; it is a commodity ; it is a measurer of commodities ; it is also an attribute conferred upon a commodity ; standard is the material of which legal-tender coins are made ; it is a certain weight of a certain metal ; and it is a certain degree of fineness of any metal ; the unit of money is both the whole volume of money and each indivisible fraction of it ; money is metal, and metal is money ; finally, the national honour is subject to the comparative

<sup>1</sup> "Any increase in the production which our imagination could call into existence would appear infinitely trifling compared with the accumulation of thousands of years now in circulation, especially when we consider the small proportion coined into money and the large proportion absorbed in the arts" (Von Humboldt's "Fluctuations of Gold," Berlin, 1838).



output of the gold and silver mines ! All these and many other sophistries will be found in the essays of Harris, Chevalier and Lord Liverpool.<sup>1</sup> It is easy to perceive that they may be made to lead to any conclusion. Accordingly, in England, they led Mr. Maclaren to advocate life assurance on a silver basis, and Mr. Cobden to recommend corn rents and payments in kind. In Germany this school of muddled logic and easy principles loudly demanded the retention of silver coins for the sole money of the Fatherland ; and it was in the midst of this patriotic vociferation that the Treaty of Vienna was drafted and signed.

It was declared to be enacted in pursuance of article ix of the Treaty of Carlsruhe, July 19th, 1853, between Austria, the principality of Lichtenstein and the States which were parties to the Treaty of Dresden, July 30th, 1838. Thus the Coinage Treaty of 1857 embraced Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Wurtemberg, Baden, Electoral Hesse, Ducal Hesse, Ducal Saxony, Oldenburg, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Coburg Gotha, Saxe-Altenburg, Brunswick, Nassau, Anhalt-Dessau, Cothen, Anhalt-Bernburg, Schwarzburg-Sondenhhausen, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Lichtenstein, Waldeck, Pyrmont, the Reusses, the Lippes, Landgraviate Hesse, and the City of Frankfort.

The right of coinage as to full legal-tender silver (*vereinsmünze*), and as to gold coins, was conferred upon private individuals. The drudgery of striking the coins was to be done by the States. No limits were assigned to the coinage of silver thalers or gold pieces, and only temporary ones to that of florins. Gold coins were forbidden to be made legal-tenders in any of the States. The full legal-tender coins were : first, currency thalers, of

<sup>1</sup> Chevalier's essays were published in the "*Revue des Deux Mondes*" shortly after the opening of California. Most of the sophistries enumerated in the text will be found in the first chapter of his subsequent work, "*The Fall in the Value of Gold*," translated by Cobden.

which thirty were to be struck from 500 metrical grammes, or one zollpfund of 7716·1745 English grains, hence each of 257·2 grains fine ; second, Austrian florins, of 45 to the zollpfund, or each of 171·47 grains fine ; and third, South German florins, of  $52\frac{1}{2}$  to the zollpfund, or each of about 147 grains fine. The thalers were to pass for  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Austrian, or  $1\frac{3}{4}$  South German florins ; and all of these coins were to be full legal-tender in all the States. The alloy to be added was such as to make them all of the metrical standard, or nine-tenths fine. The gold coins were to be crowns of 50 to the zollpfund of fine gold, hence each of  $154\frac{1}{3}$  grains fine. Austria alone might continue to strike ducats until the end of 1865. The right of coining the subsidiary silver coins, scheidemunze, was reserved to the States. The smallest pieces were to be one-sixth of a thaler, or one-fourth of an Austrian florin. The zwanzeiger, or twenty-creutzer, or one-third florin piece, was abolished. The entire emission of subsidiary silver coins (this was reserved to the States) was limited to five-sixths of a thaler per capita ; and offices were to be assigned for their redemption in full legal-tender coins. Gold coins might be received at the State treasuries at a price in silver coins to be fixed for a period not exceeding six months at a time. The position of the gold coins was that of mere bullion ; and as such they ceased to circulate, and soon found their way to the melting pot.<sup>1</sup>

The paper-money and bank-notes of each State were permitted to circulate in the other States so long as

<sup>1</sup> We have no data of the gold coinage from 1857 ; but of 175 million thalers, net, of gold coined during the years below there were estimated to have remained in existence down to 1867 not more than 15 or 20 millions. Gold coinage in millions of thalers : Old Prussia, 1764 to 1867, 85·7 ; New Prussia (Hanover, Electoral Hesse and Frankfort), 1834 to 1867, 37·3 ; Brunswick, 1764 to 1867, 50·0 ; Hamburg and Lubeck, 1790 to 1867, 1·9 ; Saxony, 1839 to 1867, and Ducal Hesse, 1819 to 1855 (together) 0·9 ; Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden, 1837 to 1867, 1·6 : total, 177·4 ; less re-coinages, 2·5 ; net issues, 174·9 ("Rep. Bu. Stat.," Sept., 1873, p. 143). See also Prof. Wagner in "Rep. U.S. Mon. Com.," 1876, i, p. 191.

"adequate" provision was made for their redemption in full legal-tender silver coins. In the case of the Bank of Prussia, which in 1872 issued two-thirds of all the paper money circulating in Germany, and in that of the other most important banks, this was legally one-third and (for a time) actually two-thirds, in thalers or florins. An exception was made with respect to Austria, whose circulation was almost entirely of paper; but such exception did not extend beyond January 1st, 1859. However, Austria soon afterwards seceded from the convention altogether.<sup>1</sup> No provision was made against a contraction of the currency by the melting or export of coins, or by the retirement of bank issues.

In this convention we perceive the mediate germs of the Latin Union of 1865, and the Scandinavian Union of 1872; but of far more significance is the fact, which can scarcely be doubted, that it helped to pave the way to the North German Bund of 1866 and the Empire of 1871. Nevertheless much remained yet to be done in unifying the monetary systems of Germany. At the conclusion of the war of 1866 there still remained no less than ten different systems of German moneys:

First, the Prussian system of the currency thaler, divided into 30 groschen of 12 pfennigs each.

Second, the system of Royal Saxony, Ducal Saxe-Gotha, Saxe-Altenburg, and Brunswick, which divided the currency thaler into 30 groschen of 10 pfennigs each.

Third, the duchies of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and Lauenburg, which divided the currency thaler into 48 skillings of 12 pfennigs each.

Fourth, the free cities of Hamburg and Bremen, which divided the currency thaler into two-and-a-half marks current, or into 40 skillings of 12 pfennigs each.

Fifth, the system of marks banco of the free cities of Hamburg and Altona and the vicinity.

<sup>1</sup> Some other provisions of this treaty will be found in "Money and Civilisation," p. 339.

Sixth, the gold coin system of the free city of Altona. This was based on the louis d'or, or pistole, of 1-84th of a pfund, say 92 grains of fine gold, valued at 5 currency thalers—a ratio of about 14 for 1. Here the thalers were divided into 72 groschen.

Seventh, the talent ("specie-thaler") of Schleswig-Holstein, of  $9\frac{1}{4}$  talents to the Cologne mark of fine silver, say 390 grains each, subdivided into 60 skillings current.

Eighth, the subdivisions of the South German florin system, which not only prevailed in Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt, but also in Frankfort-on-the-Main, Nassau, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Saxe-Meiningen, and Saxe-Coburg.

Ninth, the gold coinage system of the free city of Bremen.

Tenth, the "banco" system of Prussia.

In recounting the steps by which these diverse systems of money—the remains of the chaotic monetary period 1204 to 1524—were brought into harmony, I am compelled to copy the word "standard" in a perverted sense. Standard properly means alliage, or fineness; as when we say sterling standard, which means for silver 0.925 fine, or metrical standard, 0.900 fine. A new and wholly unwarranted meaning was conferred upon this word by Harris (1757); and this has since passed into all the literature on the subject of money. Standard was by him and is now used to mean the material of which the full legal-tender coins of a state are made. Thus England is said to employ the gold standard, India the silver standard, &c. But in this sense it is misleading, because it assumes that the money of England consists of gold, the money of India of silver, &c.; whereas in fact the money of England consists of gold coins and bank notes, both of which (except the bank notes as from the bank) are full legal tender; whilst the money of India consists not of silver, but of silver coins. In like manner has the phrase "unit of money" been perverted. The unit of



money properly means all the money in a given state ; and, as shown in my "Science of Money," chap. i, it cannot properly or distinctively have any other meaning. But unit of money, or monetary unit, or unit coin, has acquired the meaning of the principal denomination of money, as the sovereign in England, the franc in France, the imperial mark in Germany, &c. This is misleading, because it assumes that the value of money is determined by the quantity of metal contained in the so-called unit ; whereas it is in point of fact determined by the arithmetical denominations and aggregate volume of all the "units," including paper notes, no matter how much or how little metal the former may contain. This principle is admitted, but often forgotten, by all the leading economists and writers on money. With these explanations we are ready to proceed with our history.

The various steps taken or proposed by the German government of 1866 toward further unifying the coinage are recounted at length in the "United States Commercial Relations," 1867, p. 447. The most important of the proposed steps was an entire re-coinage for the whole of Germany, and the substitution of gold for silver as the material of the full legal-tender coins. These great measures relating to the monetary system of Germany have since been actually realised ; and, as usual with all great events, they have been ascribed to a wrong origin. They are attributed to the Franco-Prussian war and the Indemnity provided by the treaty of Frankfort ; whereas in point of fact they constituted, together with the right of individual coinage and the privilege of issuing bank notes, a political move, intended to allay any opposition which the aristocratic and monied classes of Germany might be disposed to evince toward that Unification in which their importance was otherwise sooner or later destined to be obliterated. In a word, the "gold standard" was part of the price of German liberty. Its origin, though not its motive, is very distinctly set forth

in the following official communication from Consul-General Murphy to the State Department of the United States, dated Frankfort, August 13th, 1867, and printed in the volume of Commercial Relations above cited:—"As there have been made already several proposals in regard to the establishment of a unit coin for the whole of Germany, which will be discussed as soon as the North German parliament will have appointed a committee to deliberate on the subject of a joint measure, weight and coin, I beg to furnish a few remarks taken from a treatise of a privy councillor of the Prussian government. . . . It is also proposed that the German states should change the silver standard into the gold standard."

To trace the origin of this movement it is necessary to observe that the claim of individuals to have their bullion coined into money at their own pleasure was no sooner asserted in Holland, Germany, and England, than it led to another claim in behalf of the class to which such individuals belonged. This was that the money so coined should pass current, not merely in the State of which they were subjects, but in all States,—a claim that took form in the organisation of societies for the promotion of so-called International Coinage. An organisation of this character was formed so early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, since which time numerous others have emerged into existence, all of them supported by men of the highest respectability, intelligence, and wealth. Several of these organisations, still in existence, date back to the middle of the present century; and it is to their efforts, more than to any other agency, that is to be ascribed, first, that demonetisation of gold which was so distinctly ratified and confirmed by the treaty of 1857, and that subsequent demonetisation of silver which was planned before 1867, and effected in 1871–3.

Thus, in the International Monetary Conference held in Paris in 1866, Privy Councillor Meinecke, the Prussian commissioner, declared that in the interest of international

circulation (a sophistical phrase that disclosed the motive power behind him) his government might be willing to abandon its "silver standard" in favour of a "gold standard;" but first they had to come to an understanding on the matter with the other states of the North German Confederation as well as with those of South Germany, who had signed with them the mint treaty of 1857.<sup>1</sup> That the motive power behind Meinecke was not the interests of the Prussian government is evinced by the arguments advanced in John G. Fichte's well-known work in favour of a distinctive national money, and from the declaration of Von Schultz, that to sign away the independence of the State in reference to money would constitute an act of treason.<sup>2</sup>

The Franco-Prussian war of 1870 furnished an opportunity for furthering the interests of individual coinage. The world's production of gold, which in 1852 amounted to £38,740,000, had gradually fallen in 1868 to £21,940,000, and in 1869 to £21,240,000; and it was foreseen that, at least for some years, it would fall, as it did fall, still lower. On the other hand, the world's production of silver, which in 1852, and for many years before and afterward, stood at about £8,000,000 per annum, suddenly jumped during the years 1864-9 to £10,000,000 per annum, and with the practical opening of the great Comstock lode bade fair to reach, as it did reach, a much higher total.<sup>3</sup> We have seen that the Treaty of Vienna was dominated by the California scare of cheap gold. It is quite evident that the monetary provisions of the Treaty of Frankfort were equally dominated by the Nevada scare of cheap silver. These provisions are set forth in another work.<sup>4</sup> In effect, they stipulated that the five milliards (£200,000,000) war indemnity to be

<sup>1</sup> "Commercial Relations," 1867, pp. 448-9.

<sup>2</sup> "Science of Money," p. 47, note 1; "Money and Civilisation," p. 288, note 1; "Int. Conf.," 1878; "Int. Conf.," 1881, p. 9; London "Times," Feb., 1886.

<sup>3</sup> "Hist. Prec. Met.," ch. xxii.

<sup>4</sup> "Mon. and Civ.," ch. xvi.

paid by France should be paid in gold coins or their equivalent. The indemnity, together with interest and other charges, amounted in fact to about £234,512,292. It was paid during the interval between May 10th, 1871, and December 4th, 1874, and, according to M. Léon Say, with only £20,491,797 in coins, of which nearly one-half were silver, the balance being liquidated by bills of exchange for French credits in foreign countries. According to another account, France lost £40,000,000 in gold, and gained £2,600,000 in silver, while Germany gained £33,540,000 in gold, and lost £2,600,000 in silver, the difference between the forty millions of gold lost by France and the thirty-three and a half millions of gold gained by Germany having gone to other countries.<sup>1</sup>

It was with this promised accession of gold that Germany adopted the Mint laws of 1871-3, and authorised those increased emissions of paper money which brought upon her a panic in the midst of a plethora. So long as a State resigns its prerogative of coinage and the issuance of circulating notes into the hands of individuals, so long is it exposed to monetary crises. These phenomena were unknown previous to 1572 in Holland, and 1666 in England; they will never cease until the fatal legislation of those years is repealed—in short, not until the State assumes the control of its own mints and paper emissions. The laws of 1871-3 had for their object, First, the creation of a new and uniform coin for the whole German empire. This was the imperial mark, of which 1395 went to the zollpfund weight of fine gold. Each mark would therefore contain 0·35842 metrical gramme, or 5·532 English grains fine gold. This money (in pieces of 5, 10, and 20 marks) was to be full legal-tender. Second, except as to the old currency thaler, of which there were supposed to be from 135 to 150 millions still in circulation, and whose full legal-tender function was retained

<sup>1</sup> "Mon. and Civ.," ch. xvi.



for the present, no silver coins were thenceforth to be legal-tender for more than 20 marks. These provisions entirely reversed the policy of 1857; then gold was demonetised, now it was silver. Third, new subsidiary silver coins were provided for (called silver marks), of which 100 were to be struck from a zollpfund of fine silver; hence each mark contained 5 grammes, or 77·15 grains, fine. The emission, until further notice, was limited to 10 marks per head of population. These coins were made redeemable at the imperial and state treasuries with full legal-tender coins. Fourth, "whenever the mints should not be engaged in coining for the government they were free to coin (only) twenty-mark gold pieces on private account, on payment of a seigniorage not to exceed 7 marks per pfund of pure gold." This substantially surrendered the gold coinage to individuals, yet wisely left the mint gates in keeping of the Crown. Fifth, provision was made for calling in all the old silver coins except the thalers above mentioned, recoin-ing them into imperial silver marks, and selling the surplus silver if any. This surplus, as the event proved, amounted nominally to about 200,000,000 thalers, and it was the German demonetisation of silver and the sale of this vast amount of bullion in the London and other markets that precipitated the fall in silver which occurred soon after. Sixth, all paper money issued by the states was to be withdrawn by January 1st, 1876, and replaced by imperial paper money. This excellent provision was not extended to the issues of private banks.

The legal equivalents between the old and new money were—1 currency thaler = 3 marks, and the other pieces in proportion. The ratio of silver in the thalers to gold in the marks is  $15\frac{1}{2}$  for 1; and as at present (there is now a "market price" of silver) there is a profit of about 100 per cent. in coining the thalers, it is natural to expect that a good many surreptitious silver coins of full weight and fineness will find their way into the circulation.

This is a danger which invites the solicitude of the German imperial government.

The table relating to the circulation, however faulty many of its details, furnishes the best guide as to the manner in which these various provisions were actually carried into execution. In 1870 the silver circulating in Germany probably did not exceed 500,000,000 thalers; it has since been reduced to about 300,000,000, of which probably one-half consists of thaler pieces. The gold scarcely exceeded 30,000,000; it has been successively increased and diminished, until now (excluding the war-chest) it amounts to about 367,000,000 to 400,000,000 thalers. The paper circulation, which before the war did not exceed 150,000,000 thalers, has since amounted to over 450,000,000; it was then curtailed, and is now increased to 480,000,000. The present circulation therefore consists of about 300,000,000 thalers silver, 367,000,000 gold, and 480,000,000 paper; total 1,167,000,000 to 1,200,000,000 thalers, or about 24 thalers or 72 marks per capita of population. An eminent German authority who was consulted on the subject estimated it one-sixth higher.

The statistics of the reduction of gold and silver ores in Germany have been ingeniously employed to swell the estimated production of silver throughout the world. It may be stated at the outset that nearly all of the gold and most of the silver produced in Germany is from foreign refractory ores, whose metalliferous contents have already been credited to the countries of their production. These are chiefly America, Australia, and Spain. The product of gold in Germany for the year 1830 was about 10 pounds troy, chiefly in Saxony and Hanover; in 1850, 20 pounds; 1860, 70 pounds (average of three years); 1870, 167 pounds (average of three years); 1880, 800 pounds; 1890, 3,600 pounds; at the present time it is about 6,000 pounds, and valued at about £300,000 sterling. This gold is extracted in minute proportions from lead and copper

ores. The peroxide of iron obtained in roasting arsenical ores is impregnated with chlorine gas, washed with water, and the gold precipitated with sulphuretted hydrogen. The resulting sulphide is roasted, washed with hydrochloric acid, and smelted with borax and nitre. The product of silver in 1830 was about 72,000 pounds troy; 1850, 100,000 pounds; 1860, 150,000 pounds;<sup>1</sup> 1870, 240,000 pounds; 1880, 360,000 pounds; 1890, 800,000 pounds; and at the present time about 900,000 pounds, of which about two-thirds are from foreign ores. The production of native silver, therefore, does not exceed 300,000 pounds, or in value about £450,000 sterling. In Dr. Soetbeer's work, translated and printed by the American government in 1887 for the guidance of statesmen (U.S. Cons. Rep., No. 87, p. 477), the production of silver in Germany is stated at more than twice this sum; and in that sociological monument, the "Report of the Director of the Mint upon the Production of the Precious Metals in 1892," it is stated at more than thrice. Both of these works were printed on the government press in vast numbers, and distributed gratis to the public. They were soon followed by the legislative cessation of full legal-tender silver coinage (repeal of the Bland and Sherman Acts), a tremendous fall in the price of securities, the insolvency of numerous credit institutions, and a general paralysis of trade.

These disastrous consequences are not confined to the United States, but are common to the commercial world to-day. They are directly attributable to the selfish and unpatriotic clamour of a class of whom Cobden in England, Chevalier in France, and Soetbeer in Germany were the gifted exponents and dupes. The result is, they have killed the goose that laid the golden eggs. Their views, unhappily carried into practice, have ended in an almost

<sup>1</sup> For 1865 the product of the Hartz was given at 28,000 pounds troy; Prussia, 68,000; Saxony, 80,000; and other German states 2500: total 178,500 pounds (Phillips on "Gold and Silver," p. 320).

total paralysis of trade ; and this will lose to their masters ten times more money than the latter can possibly gain by the demonetisation of one of the precious metals and the contraction of the basis of credit. Like Storch, like Bungé, like every zealot who has been permitted to influence the monetary policy of an empire, they have been the evil geniuses of their Fatherland. Soetbeer knew but little of the numerous monetary experiments which had been made in Germany. He was totally ignorant of those which had been made in other countries. His works evince no knowledge of the conditions under which the precious metals have been won from nature, nor obtained by one nation from another. He fancied that the value of coins was due to the economical cost of producing, by the aid of free labour, the material of which they were composed ; and he had the effrontery to reduce them all to kilogrammes of gold and silver. Such was his great talent and persistency that he infected a numerous and intelligent school with the same mad notions. The thousands of millions which the Spaniards extorted from the tears and blood of the Indians, the plunder which Buonaparte carried out of Germany, nay, even the vast Indemnity which the Germans recently exacted from France, and which was paid under his very nose, he weighed with the scales of a bullion dealer and he reduced to a fanciful "cost of production." With the experience of ages treasured up in the laws of the empire in which he dwelt, with the Roman Institutes and Codes at his elbow, he totally failed to comprehend the meaning of value or the function of money ; and by reducing the latter to metal he converted the complicated transactions of modern societary life to the savage level of barter, in which that which is offered with the right hand is valued by something held in the left. The idea that numisma, nummus, money, is a Measure, a measure whose limits can only be equitably adjusted by the State, never entered his mind. Yet he might have readily found it in Plato



and Aristotle, and Paulus and Humboldt ; nor could he have failed to find it in the laws of his own country, had he ever deemed it worth his while to read them with care. His pernicious advice was followed so blindly as to extort from the suffering farmers and peasants a cry of distress expressed in no less than two hundred petitions to the Imperial Chancellor and the Reichstag (December 10th, 1886), which piteously begged for relief from the evils of hoarded money and the clutches of the usurer.

Germany has a brilliant future before her. Her people are hardy, industrious, and intelligent ; her religion comes from the free air of the Baltic ; her laws are based upon the garnered wisdom of ages ; her mechanical aptitude is the legacy of Rome ; her domain is spacious, her soil exuberant, her climate genial, and her ruler enterprising, progressive, and impatient to develop the vast resources of the State to whose guidance he has been called. But he may rest assured that in these times such development depends in no slight degree upon the adoption of a stable and equitable system of money ; and that such a system is not the one demanded by the class of individuals who practically monopolise the issues of the imperial mints, and by means of this all-powerful engine usurp for themselves functions that rightfully belong to the German people and the German state.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### THE ARGENTINE CONFEDERATION.

The swash-bucklers or conquistadores of La Plata—Plunder and oppression of the natives—Mining—Lethargic condition of La Plata as an appanage of Peru—The viceroyalty—Encomienda and slave systems—Jesuit missions—Opposition of the colonists to them—Exactions of the Crown of Spain—Scandalous sale of papal indulgences—Ruinous results—Revolutions and civil wars—Subversion of the monarchy—Retention of papal domination—Boom of 1825—Relapse into anarchy—Further wars and revolutions—Paraguayan war—Dreadful cruelties—Feeble progress of the republic—Territory—Population—Agriculture—Sheep-farming—Commerce—Dishonest representations—Gross exaggeration of national wealth and resources—Boom of 1874-5—The revulsion—Its causes—Superstition, poverty, and false pretences—Monetary systems—The Quinto—Seigniorage—Private coinage—Base coins—Mint law of 1772—Good money lowers the value of bad, but is not driven out—Illimitable paper issues—Their attempted retirement at 25 paper for 1 coin—Law demonetising silver and establishing gold money—Its farcical character—The so-called “resumption” suspended—Further paper issues—Retirement of the old paper at 25 for 1 of new paper—The new paper falls to 40 per cent. of its face value in coins—Entire disappearance of gold and silver coins—Abject position of a great country brought about by bad administration.

IT is quite impossible to form a correct estimation of the monetary systems of the Argentine Republic without considering its peculiar history, so little known beyond its own borders : its lethargic condition as a mining appanage of Peru under Spanish rule ; its first development of political life as a viceroyalty ; its encomienda and slave systems ; the destruction of the Jesuit missions ; the unbearable exactions of the Crown ; its anarchical condition ; the subversion of monarchical government in 1816 ; the

boom of 1825; its relapse into anarchy; its numerous revolutions and civil wars; its sheep-culture; the first development of progress; the boom of 1874, so recently brought to an end; its singular monetary laws; its accumulation of debts, and its financial resources, so really few, and yet so grossly exaggerated as to have led to the wildest speculations and disturbed the affairs of the entire commercial world. Mackenna said that the country was called *La Plata* because it had no silver; the President Sarmiento, that the inhabitants of its chief city were called *Porteños* because it had no port. This appears to be true of many things in the Argentina; from the name of the country, down to that of the smallest thing in it, much is illusory.

In comparing the resources of Argentina with the statements of them put forth by the Argentine government, one cannot help thinking of that clever Potempkin who led the Empress Elizabeth from St. Petersburg to the Crimea through a succession of well-built towns which he had assured her majesty would be found upon the route, and were the pride of her dominions; the fact being that, to make his representations good, he had caused villas and temples to be painted upon canvas, which he stretched upon frames, like the mock architecture of a theatre, and moved from place to place along the desert, but always at a sufficient distance from the imperial cortège to render the illusion complete. In like manner have the ministers of the Argentine Confederation beguiled the European investor. Paper farms, a paper population, paper sheep, paper buildings, paper money without limit, paid by repudiation and issued again, figures that represented nothing, promises that meant nothing,—these are the features of Argentine statistics and of Argentine finance. The Mississippi Bubble of John Law consisted of the rich alluvial territory of Louisiana and a government bank of limitless issues. The Argentine bubble has also a government bank of limitless issues; but instead of the peerless

Mississippi valley behind it there is only the desert of the Gran Chaco, which under no likely circumstances can ever become much more than a sheep pasture.

In 1872 the writer was one of the members of the International Statistical Congress which met at St. Petersburg. At that Congress the representative of the Argentine Confederation, Señor Francisco J. Brabo, presented a document containing the most striking evidences of progress which he could collect concerning that country. It was all contained on a single sheet of letter-paper. It set forth the imports and exports—the latter consisting chiefly of wool and hides,—and dwelt upon the advantages which his government expected to derive from a loan of 150,000,000 francs which it was seeking to place in Europe. In 1886 Mr. Mulhall, the editor of the Buenos Ayres “Standard,” published the ninth edition of his “Handbook of La Plata,” an ample volume, replete with statistical marvels, in striking contrast with the modest exhibit of Señor Brabo. The national domains comprised, according to this turgid authority, 1,600,000 square miles; the population amounted to 3,000,000; there were 46,000,000 acres under tillage; there were 70,000,000 sheep on the pampas; and the national wealth, in houses, lands, cattle, and public works, amounted in value to £400,000,000 sterling, hard cash, whereas in 1857 it had only amounted to £73,000,000—a sixfold increase in thirty years! We were asked to believe that all the difference between Brabo’s half-sheet and Mulhall’s fat volume—between the former’s timid aspirations for a small loan and the latter’s impudent array of pretended national wealth, had been wrought in twelve years. But even this was not enough for the Argentine government, who, in November, 1889, by the hand of Señor Estanislao S. Zeballos, its minister for foreign affairs, transmitted to the government of the United States an exhibit of “Argentine Progressive Statistics” which leaves Mr. Mulhall’s vigorous efforts quite in the shade. In five



years' time the population had grown from 3 to 4 $\frac{1}{4}$  millions, and the sheep from 70 to 108 millions. There were four army corps, each of 33,000 men, besides a national guard, ready to take arms, numbering 400,000. All the other figures are on the same scale of magnificence. The Chinese mandarin, who in 1795 amused Lord Macartney and rejoiced the encyclopædists with an account of the population and resources of China, was a mere child to this Zeballos. A population of 4 $\frac{1}{4}$  millions, owning £400,000,000 worth of property, including 108,000,000 sheep, is the wealthiest in the world, and certainly ought to be able to meet the interest on those loans, the principle of which has contributed so largely to these wonderful results; but, unhappily, it is quite plain that it cannot; and we who lent the money have, therefore, a right to look a little more closely than we have hitherto done into the validity of the representations upon which the loans were made.

The Argentine Republic consists of Buenos Ayres and thirteen other provinces, districts, or states, all of which were originally known as the River Plate country; and included that portion of South America bounded by the rivers Uruguay on the east, Vermejo on the north, and Negro on the south, and by the Cordilleras on the west. South of the Negro is the Indian territory of Patagonia, most of which is covered by the Argentine flag.

The Rio de la Plata was discovered in 1516 by Juan de Solis, a Spanish commander; in 1523 Alexis Garcia, a Portuguese commander, traversed Brazil and the Gran Chaco of the Argentine, scaled the Andes, and pillaged Alto Peru, three years in advance of Pizarro; in 1527 Sebastian Cabot founded San Espiritu, gave the name of La Plata to the river and country, and petitioned the king of Castile to aid him in opening a route to Peru *viá* the Vermejo; in 1535 Mendoza founded Buenos Ayres, his lieutenant, Del Campo, giving it that name; in 1537 Juan d'Ayolas ascended the Paraguay, and struck

across the continent to Alto Peru, which he pillaged ; in 1542 Cabesa de Vaca, landing in Brazil, sent his lieutenant Yrala to pillage Peru, but he failed to reach it. He returned with 12,000 Indian slaves and a few sheep. Upon being appointed governor of La Plata, with headquarters at the Fort of Asuncion, Yrala, in turn, sent Nuflo de Chaves to pillage Peru, but was there confronted by a pillaging party from Peru itself under Hurtado de Mendoza. In 1560 these united expeditions founded Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Meanwhile, in 1535, the mines of Potosi had been discovered and opened by parties from Peru, and a line of forts and settlements was established between the mines and the estuary of La Plata.

It was now perceived that the natives were too poor to afford further encouragement to pillaging expeditions ; and the efforts of the Spanish adventurers were turned to mining for gold and silver. To render this profitable, experience had proved that it was necessary to capture and enslave the natives ; and as a pretext for this procedure, there was read, nominally to them, but really to the trees (*a los arboles*), a proclamation (*requerimiento*) from the king of Castile, which recited that God had committed the government of all the world and its inhabitants to the Pope of Rome ; that the Pope had committed America to the Catholic kings of Castile ; that they, in turn, had granted the various districts of that country to the commanders who carried this proclamation ; that conforming to these premises, the Indians were bound to acknowledge the Catholic church as the Superior and Guide of the universe, and to obey the king of Castile and his captains, and do all their behests ; and the proclamation ended with these words : “ But if you will not comply or maliciously hesitate to obey these injunctions, I will enter your country by force ; I will carry on war against you with the utmost violence ; I will enslave and subject you to the yoke of obedience ; I will take your

wives and children, make them slaves, and dispose of them at pleasure ; I will plunder you, and do you all the mischief in my power, treating you as rebellious subjects, unwilling to submit to lawful authority ; and I protest that all the bloodshed and calamities which shall follow are to be imputed to you, and not to his majesty nor to me, nor to the gentle and honorable cavaliers who serve the king under me ; and that this requisition, having been made duly known to you, is hereunto certified in proper form by a notary here present.”<sup>1</sup> This requisition was the original basis of Argentine civilisation, the Magna Charta of South American rights—mine-slavery for the endowment of a foreign church and king ; torture, pollution, and death for the natives. Whether the Indians obeyed or disobeyed it, the result of the requisition was the same ; to them it only meant extinction, and but for the events of 1816 it would have left South America a solitude.

Clad in mailed shirts, armed with sword and pistol, and mounted upon fleet horses, the “gentle and honorable cavaliers” of Castile now scoured La Plata for the slaves which the king had granted to them in *encomienda*. “To our esteemed Don Juan, an *encomienda* of 5000 Indians ; to our beloved Don Enrique, an *encomienda* of 10,000 Indians ; to our cherished Don Manuel, an *encomienda* of 50,000 Indians ;” to have and to hold, to dishonour, to rob, to squeeze, to exploit to death in mines, to torture, to mutilate, to feed to the dogs. Such, practically, was the nature of the *encomienda*. Its object was to stimulate the production of gold and silver for the Spanish crown and for St. Peter’s of Rome.

Under these warrants—the Requisition and the *Encomienda*—the natives of La Plata were hunted down with bloodhounds, and thrust naked into the frozen mines of the Andes, which at the present time, and with all the aids of science, machinery, and steam, cannot be made to

<sup>1</sup> Herrera, dec. i, lib. i, c. 14.

pay the expense of their maintenance.<sup>1</sup> There the Indian were confined to the work and driven with the lash until they died. The price of a living man was three sheep of a woman and child, a sheep and a lamb.<sup>2</sup>

“The number of deaths was so great that the corpses bred pestilence; and in one mining district of New Spain Father Motolinia affirms that for half a league round it, and for a great part of the road to it, you could scarcely make a step except upon the dead bodies or the bones of men.” This was the era when the coinage prerogative was stolen from the princes of Europe, and the burgher class became opulent and powerful.

During the pillaging era (1523 to 1550) and the first mining era (1550 to 1580) the whole of La Plata territory was explored. In the year last named, and together with Bolivia and other territory, it was made part of the viceroyalty of Peru, and Don Juan de Garay of Lima was appointed lieutenant-governor.

In 1620 the territory of La Plata was separated into two governments, both subject to the viceroyalty of Peru; the north-western portion being governed directly from Lima, and the south-western portion from Asuncion. A frontier custom-house was established at Cordova, at which merchandise passing either way paid a duty of 50 per cent. *ad valorem*—a regulation that was not relaxed until 1665. In 1614 the gross annual revenues of the viceroyalty of Peru amounted to five million pesos—about a million sterling. Of these revenues about one-third were derived from the taxes on the production and coinage of the precious metals; one-sixth from the Indian tribute; one-tenth from excise on spirits (*pulque*), playing cards, gunpowder, and cock-fights;<sup>3</sup> and the balance, or

<sup>1</sup> Del Mar's "Hist. Prec. Met.," and authorities cited; also Robertson's "Hist. America," ii, p. 503, and Mackenna's "Libro de Plata."

<sup>2</sup> Charlevoix, ii, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> This strange basis of taxation was renewed in 1889, only instead of fighting-cocks it was race-horses. The basis of the tax and the motive for levying it were the same. The basis was a national vice, the legacy



four-tenths, from customs duties and ecclesiastical ninth and annats. This did not include the biennial indulgences, which were sold in the viceroyalty of Peru every other year to the amount of about 1,200,000 pesos, or £240,000. What with the alcavala of 4 per cent. on the sale of goods, and the profits on the sale of quicksilver, the entire gross revenues of Peru were about seven million pesos, or nearly a million and a half sterling. The expenses of collection were about one-half, and the moiety of these figures may fairly be regarded as the proportion belonging to La Plata.<sup>1</sup>

A century had passed since Garcia crossed the continent, but as yet, beyond the petty maize-gardens of the natives, scarcely a farm had been planted, and not a single manufactory erected. The one industry of the country was gold and silver mining, and this was carried on altogether with enforced native labour. Everything came from Spain,—horses, gunpowder, arms, blankets, sombreros, spurs, manacles, whips, playing cards, dice, fighting-cocks, and papal indulgences. Everything went to Spain, or to—elsewhere. Nothing remained in La Plata, not even the Indians. A few escaped to the woods; the remainder, constituting communities, civilised and other, which had once numbered several millions of persons, were being coldly pressed to death in the mines.

Upon the “gentle and honorable cavaliers” who had brought about this dismal tragedy neither the tears of the Indians nor the appeals of pitying priests produced any effect. In deference to the representations of the latter, the Crown in 1548 had enacted the Mita, which sought to limit the proportion of the Indians to be employed in the mines, and ameliorate the conditions of their service; but the law was not obeyed, and it did but little good. So early as 1550 Father Domingo de Santo Tomas,

of mining days; the motive was an exhausted treasury (“U.S. Commercial Relations,” Consular Reports), 1890, p. 113.

<sup>1</sup> Robertson’s “America,” ii, pp. 511–12, 516.

writing from Peru, said that from one-half to two-third of the native population had been destroyed by the Spaniards. Alluding especially to the Potosi mines, he said, "The poor creatures died like cattle; and even the few who escaped alive never lived to reach their miserable homes."

To ensure the continuance of the Peruvian mines it had become necessary to follow the example which had been set in New Spain. This was to carry on a systematic slave trade across the ocean, and to substitute for the extinct races of America new races from Africa. This trade soon grew to large proportions. The run from the coast of Africa was comparatively short, and the slaves were landed at the town of Buenos Ayres and driven across the desert, to Peru. In the beginning of this trade negroes were landed in the Rio de la Plata at a cost of about £5 per head—a valuation that will serve to measure the little difficulty of obtaining them, and the lack of care bestowed upon them. Once in the mines, they were exploited as rapidly as possible; it being cheaper to fill their places with fresh recruits than to take any trouble with the old ones. It was in the midst of this new and horrible traffic, and before negroes became difficult to obtain—that is to say, in 1607—that the Jesuit fathers of La Plata first saw their way to save what was left of the Indians. Of many millions of this race, but a few thousands remained, near the settlements or in the forests hiding from the slave hunters and cursing the name of Spaniard. The energetic representations of the priests at court, backed by the known ease of obtaining mining slaves from Africa, first met with success in 1609, when the king of Castile authorised their "Provincial," Father Diego de Torres, of Rome, to establish missions in La Plata for the care and conversion of the Indians, forbade these missions from being disturbed by any officers of the Crown, and authorised the Provincial to oppose, in the king's name, any such disturbance.

This edict gave rise to a most interesting experiment in government. Whilst the Puritan fathers were governing New England on the lines of the Old Testament, the Jesuit fathers governed the Paraguay missions on the lines of the New. They went among the Indians at risk of their lives. With infinite difficulty they persuaded them to emerge from their hiding-places, to abandon their fugitive and solitary lives, to trust themselves to the guidance of white men, and to live in social communities. The Jesuit priests taught and encouraged them to work and to pray as Christians; they indulged their native rites and customs; they humoured their beliefs and superstitions; they themselves even spoke the native language, and avoided the use of that sonorous but treacherous tongue of Castile which to the Indians was only a presage of betrayal, violence, and death.

In this task the Jesuits were opposed by the entire Spanish population of La Plata; even the officials, contrary to the king's express orders, throwing obstacles in their way and encouraging their enemies. Foremost among these were the Paulistas, those bandits—"Mamelucos," they were called—of the Portuguese frontier who had discovered gold placers in Minas Geraes, and wanted slaves to work them. In 1628 these bandits broke through all restraints of law, and attacked the Jesuit missions. Some of them, disguised as Jesuit priests, visited the christianised Indians and entrapped them into slavery; others rode boldly into the "reductions," as the missions were called, and tore the Indian converts away to the mines. Everywhere their steps were marked with blood; the reductions were razed to the ground, the houses ransacked, the churches pillaged, the altars polluted with innocent blood.<sup>1</sup>

Between 1628 and 1630, over 60,000 christian Indians, chiefly captured in these raids, were sold in the slave marts of San Pedro and Rio Janeiro, and sent to the gold

<sup>1</sup> Charlevoix, pp. 478-9.

and silver mines. Many thousands were slain by the Paulistas, or died from fatigue and privation. It is estimated that altogether over "100,000 christian natives were either enslaved or butchered."<sup>1</sup>

The unhappy Jesuits gathered together the scattered remains of their flocks—about 12,000 Indians, exclusive of women and children,—and retreated to the north-east corner of Corrientes, where they again commenced their pious task. Their account of these transactions, carried to Spain by Fathers de Montaña and Tano, resulted in extorting from the king a reluctant permission that the Indians might be allowed to bear firearms. In 1641, on the occasion of another attempt on the reductions by the Paulistas and Argentines, the Jesuits distributed 300 muskets among the Guaranis; and these were used with such deadly effect that but few of the white bandits escaped alive.

But, though foiled in fight, the Argentines were fertile of intrigue. In January, 1649, their governor, who kept them in restraint, mysteriously died. Without waiting for the royal appointment of his successor, they at once effected a revolution, took the royal authority into their own hands, and chose Don Bernardin, a known enemy of the reductions, as governor. Their champion lost no time. In March, 1649, he authorised the pillage of the Jesuit College at Asuncion. When this design was accomplished, and while meditating further mischief to the reductions, he was summoned to give an account of his conduct to the Viceroy of Peru, and the revolution came to an inglorious end. In 1651 the Paulistas and Argentines made a fresh attack upon the reductions, but the muskets again so effectually repulsed them that they abandoned all attempts of this character upon the missions of the Paraguay.

In 1691 the Jesuits established similar missions among the Chiquitos of Bolivia, and these also were attempted

<sup>1</sup> Page, p. 482.



to be destroyed and the Indians enslaved by the Paulistas and Argentines ; but after the latter had met with partial success, and depopulated a few villages, firearms again won the day, and the bandits were driven off.

These transactions render it perfectly plain that the terms of submission which the colonists of South America were ordered to offer to the natives before making "war" upon them, however soothing such terms may have been to the king's conscience, were altogether opposed to the policy of his Spanish subjects, and therefore impracticable. This policy was to plunder and enslave the natives ; to squeeze out of them all that perfidy, cupidity, and the torture could extort ; to exploit them without pause or mercy ; and for the colonists to avoid doing any work themselves. Nowhere do we find them engaged in planting, in rearing herds of animals, in gathering the gifts of Nature, or in utilising her forces. These occupations were relinquished to the natives and the Jesuit priests, against whom they waged unceasing and unrelenting war. When the Jesuits first offered to civilise and evangelise the natives, the colonists opposed ; when the king issued peremptory orders that the Jesuits and their converts should not be molested, the colonists disobeyed and revolted ; when, notwithstanding their enmity, the Christian Commonwealth grew into an imposing fabric, they once more revolted against the royal authority.

An eye-witness informs us what they did with the mission Indians. In "A Relation of Mr. B. M.'s Voyage to Buenos Aires, from hence by Land to Potosi" (London, 1716), the author says that in this frozen region, where even on the surface it never thaws till daylight, he saw in one place (in the year 1713) 2200 captured Indians driven into a paddock like sheep, and there parcelled out to various mine-owners, by whom they were driven to the workings under ground. It was death to

attempt escape ; it was death to remain, for they died in platoons. This was the price of gold—death.

In 1723, Antiquera, governor of Buenos Ayres, took upon himself to order the banishment of the Jesuits from the country, and he organised another raid upon the Paraguay missions. After the first surprise the Guarani converts recovered themselves, met his forces in the field, and stopped his further operations. When this news reached Lima a royal battalion was sent against Antiquera, who was arrested, carried to Lima, and there executed, in 1731.

Several governors of Buenos Ayres now followed each other in rapid succession—Zavala, Barna, and Saroeta. The burning question that divided the colonists was still the mine exploitation of the christian natives. In 1732 this question occasioned another rebellion. The pro-slavery and anti-Jesuit party were called the *Communeros*, or Home Rulers ; the king's party, the *Contrabandos*.<sup>1</sup> Upon the outbreak of this revolution the *Communeros* deposed the king's officers, appointed a provincial Junta, and elected, as president of the province, Don Luis Jose de Barreyo. Upon evincing some hesitation to attack the christian reductions, this officer was deposed in favour of Don Manuel de Ruiloba, who, for the same reason, was also deposed. The *Communeros* then dissolved their Junta and appointed a dictator to carry out their designs. Before these could be effected they were met and defeated by the king's forces under Zavala, and all these rebellions and revolutions were brought to an end.

By this time the price of heathen negroes brought from Africa had increased to £15 each—a price so great as to be regarded as an intolerable burden by the colonists who owned the mines ; and a fresh effort was made to capture and obtain as slaves, and for nothing, the christian Indians of the Paraguay missions. From arms the colonists

<sup>1</sup> Page, p. 531.

had recourse to intrigue, and they appealed from the plains of Tucuman to the Court of Madrid.

About the year 1743 the christian missions were in the enjoyment of unprecedented prosperity and power. Those of the Parana and Uruguay numbered about 140,000 souls; the Chiquitos reductions numbered 24,000; the Abipones and others about 6000: total, about 170,000 converts; of whom 12,000 to 14,000 were provided with horses, arms, and ammunition. In thirty reductions the converts possessed 769,590 horses, 13,900 mules, and 271,540 sheep, besides large herds of cattle and other animals. It has been suggested that this prosperity was not accompanied by any increase of population. The Abbé Raynal and other writers have even assigned causes for this phenomenon, such as changed habits of life, the prevalence of smallpox and fevers, etc., but they have one and all omitted to supply any evidence in support of these premises. Taking into account the small numbers of the natives whom the Jesuits managed to collect together after the tragedy of 1628, and the mendacious reports which their enemies circulated at Court, the present writer is compelled to regard the supposed absence of increase among the natives as having no foundation in fact.

However this may be, the prosperity of the reductions furnished a weapon to their unscrupulous enemies; and this was sharpened by the straitened condition of the royal finances. In vain the Jesuits pleaded the evangelisation of the natives; in vain their docility, their industry, their sobriety; in vain that priceless gift of nature, the Cinchona bark, which they had discovered and gathered from the trees of La Paz, to lay at the feet of suffering mankind. These sentimental pleas did not fill the king's coffers. The mines were declining for lack of cheap labour; the price of negro slaves had become prohibitive; and but one resource seemed open to the Treasury—to reduce the reductions and thrust the

christian converts into the mines. The annual revenues of the Crown had fallen from 401 million reales de vellon in the reign of Philip IV, to 42 millions in that of Philip V. The annual expenses had risen from 183 millions to more than 200 millions. The king's Fifth from the American mines, which formerly was paid without a murmur, was now evaded, and had seriously dwindled away. The christian Indians must go into the mines. Besides, were not the Jesuits accused of amassing great treasures for themselves? were their churches not laden with plate?<sup>1</sup> had it not been alleged that their christian republic, their *imperium in imperio*, threatened the integrity of the Crown? Assuredly the missions ought to be destroyed, and the produce of the mines increased.

In 1759, Pombal, the prime minister of Portugal, thwarted in his designs upon the lands of the Uruguay missions, had banished the Jesuits from the Portuguese possessions, and loading a ship with them in Portugal, had despatched it to Civita Vecchia. Here was example added to reason. The result of these considerations was a triumph for the colonists of La Plata. In 1767 the fiat went forth, and the Jesuits were banished by Charles III. from Spain and its colonies. Within three months' time this edict was enforced in La Plata, and the christian republic was levelled to the dust.

In his letter to the pope, apologising for this transaction, the king terms it a measure of "political economy;" and there is no reason to doubt the royal word. His first step was to ship all the Jesuits of Spain to Rome; his next to hunt down the 222 Jesuits of La Plata and

<sup>1</sup> Says Postlethwayt (Dict., art. "Gold"), "The richest gold lavaderos (washings) of Chili fall into the laps of the Jesuits, who farm or purchase abundance of mines and lavaderos, which are wrought for their benefit by their servants." The belief that the Jesuits possessed rich mines in which they employed their converts to work in secret is not even yet extinguished. See a curious note printed in 1882 by the "Industrial" of Buenos Ayres, and published in Mackenna's "Libro de Plata."



deport them from Buenos Ayres ; then he authorised the colonists to plunder the Jesuit colleges and churches ; finally he let them loose upon the devoted Indians.

The result can be told in a few words : the midnight raid, the chain-gang, the mines, torture, and extinction. In 1801 a census of the Indian population was made by Don Joaquin de Soria. There were in the thirty missions 45,639 souls ; less by 98,398 than in the year 1767. In this interval of thirty-four years more than two-thirds of the original number, to say nothing of the natural increase, had disappeared ; horses, cattle, and sheep were gone ; the fields were destroyed, the houses pulled to pieces or burned down, and nought remained save a few hovels and a crumbling adobe church, with faded frescoes and a cracked bell.<sup>1</sup>

In August, 1776, the provinces of La Plata were separated from Peru, and together with several other portions of that viceroyalty erected into a separate viceroyalty, the fourth of that rank in Spanish America. It was called La Plata. This government consisted of the following provinces :—Buenos Ayres, Rio de la Plata, Tucuman to the Andes and the Vermejo, all of Paraguay, and all of the present state of Bolivia, including the mining districts of Potosi, Oruro, and La Paz.

In 1806, whilst Sobremonte was Viceroy of the province, the city of Buenos Ayres was captured by British forces under Admiral Sir Home Popham and General Beresford, with booty valued at 1,500,000 dollars ; but they were soon afterward driven out. In the following year Sir Samuel Auchmuty captured Monte Video, and in 1808 General Whitelock, with 11,000 British troops, endeavoured to retake Buenos Ayres, but was repulsed by General Liniers ; and in the same year the entire British forces evacuated La Plata.<sup>2</sup>

Simultaneously with these events the king of Spain, Charles IV, abdicated in favour of his son, Ferdinand

<sup>1</sup> Page, p. 551.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 556.

VII. For his gallantry in the repulse of the British forces, General Liniers was appointed viceroy ; but being a Frenchman, and the Spaniards being at that time highly incensed against all Frenchmen, in consequence of the invasion of Spain by Napoleon Buonaparte, a revolution broke out in La Plata, Liniers was deposed by the colonists, and Cisneros appointed viceroy in the name of Ferdinand VII. of Spain. As this monarch was himself soon after deposed by Napoleon in favour of his brother Joseph, Cisneros governed absolutely. On May 25th, 1810, and with Cisneros' consent, a new government was formed in La Plata. This consisted of a council of the provisional government of La Plata. The formation of this council is regarded by the colonists as the first step of their national independence. In 1812 the Spanish or king's party attempted to force Cisneros upon the colony as president, but the attempt failed ; and the *ci-devant* viceroy retired to Monte Video, which still remained faithful to the Spanish crown.

In 1813 a new government was formed at Buenos Ayres, consisting of a national congress, with Posadas as dictator of the republic ; and in the same year Ferdinand VII. was restored to the throne of Spain. In 1815 the republican government of La Plata solicited the ex-king Charles IV. to come and govern them ; but this movement was checked by a revolution in the province of Tucuman, which broke out March 25th, 1816, and ended with the selection of a new congress and the appointment of Payridon as president of the republic. On the 9th July, same year, the united provinces of La Plata formally declared themselves separated from Spain, and made Buenos Ayres their seat of government : Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay stood aloof and erected themselves into independent states ; and a period of anarchy followed, marked by endless intrigues, desolating strifes, and political schemes ending in nothing. Among these was the design to become a protectorate of France, with the young

Duke of Lucca as viceroy. In 1822 a general agreement of amnesty was arrived at between the liberated states ; but the civil war was not ended until December 9th, 1824.

In 1825 a National Constitution for the Argentine Confederation was promulgated, and Señor Rivadavia chosen as president. In the same year the independence of the Confederation was acknowledged by Great Britain. In 1826 war was declared by the Confederation against Brazil for the possession of Uruguay, and this war continued for nearly two years. In 1827 the Banda Oriental declared itself independent ; and in the same year, says Sir Woodbine Parrish, the Argentine Congress was dissolved, the Confederation, though it continued in name, practically fell to pieces, and the whole of La Plata was substantially governed by the executive of the province of Buenos Ayres.

About the year 1825 two Englishmen, Head and Miers, travelled extensively in Buenos Ayres, and published details concerning the ruin of this country by the early Spanish conquerors and miners, its present poverty, the extravagant and lying accounts sent to England for the purposes of speculation, and the delusive character of its boasted mining resources, which details it would have been profitable to refer to during the progress of recent events, and which the leaders in these later transactions have no excuse for not communicating to the public. Mr. Miers said that the population, wealth, and resources of the country were everywhere exaggerated, that phantoms of wealth and power were conjured up to feed the appetite of cupidity, that the mining companies recently organised in England to work these fabulous resources would probably all come to grief, and that he deemed it his duty to tear off the mask of deception which covered the real indigence of this exploited country.<sup>1</sup> But these revelations went unheeded in 1825, and were forgotten in 1875,

<sup>1</sup> Malte-Brun, *Geography*, iii, p. 361, n.

when precisely the same sort of deception was practised which had succeeded so well fifty years before.

With the collapse of the boom of 1825, and the withdrawal of mining capital to Europe, mining in Buenos Ayres came to an end, and the country was left without any industry except that of raising sheep for wool, and killing wild horses for their skins and bones. While this was sufficient to satisfy the requirements of the Indians and guachos, it furnished no basis of commerce and no support for the Spanish population, which for this reason was always indigent, and consequently always discontented and ready for a change of government or for war—anything that promised some advantage. It is useless to look any further for an explanation of the anarchical condition of the Argentine. This one is enough for practical purposes.

In 1828 a fierce war broke out between the Unitarians ("States Rights") and Federalists, in which Donego, who had been elected president of the Confederation in 1827, was shot, and General Rosas was made president by the Federalists. In 1829 Rosas became dictator. In 1838 war broke out with France, and this lasted two years, during part of which time Buenos Ayres was blockaded by a French fleet. In 1840 Lavalle, the Unitarian chief, was captured and shot by order of Rosas, who followed up this advantage by endeavouring to utterly exterminate Lavalle's followers. In 1845 France and England tried to stop this internecine war; their fleets even ascended the Paraguay; but in 1847 they abandoned the country to its own quarrels. At length, in January, 1852, Rosas was routed by the Unitarians under Urquiza; in February he was again defeated, and this time deposed, after a reign practically of twenty-three years; and in May of the following year (1852) a new constitution was promulgated, with Urquiza as provisional dictator of the Confederation, and Lopez as governor of Buenos Ayres. Martin says that this Constitution is modelled upon that



of the United States of America, an opinion that has but little foundation in fact. The Argentine Constitution adopts and supports a particular form of religion ; provides that the president of the Confederation shall be a Roman Catholic ; that public measures shall be proposed, not by the representatives of the people, but by a ministry, who are expected to resign when outvoted,—in short, contains numerous provisions, any one of which would entirely subvert the structure of the American Constitution.

In September, 1852, a new revolution broke out in Buenos Ayres. Lopez was deposed, and Alsina appointed governor. A rising also occurred under Colonel Lagos in favour of restoring Rosas as dictator of the Confederation. Alsina resigned as governor of Buenos Ayres, and General Pintos was appointed in his place ; Lagos then besieged Buenos Ayres. In 1853 Urquiza made terms with Lagos, and joined in the siege of Buenos Ayres. In July of the same year they both suddenly withdrew, and leaving Buenos Ayres to pursue its career alone, Urquiza completed the government of the thirteen provinces, and established its capital at Parana. Meanwhile in the same year Buenos Ayres declared itself for ever independent of the Confederation, and chose Obligado as governor. In 1859 Alsina again became governor of Buenos Ayres, and at once declared war against the thirteen provinces. In the same year he was defeated by Urquiza, who entered Buenos Ayres in triumph. Then Buenos Ayres again joined the Argentine Confederation, with Dr. S. Derqui as president, and with the capital still at Parana. In 1861 a revolution occurred in Buenos Ayres, which declared itself opposed to the policy of the Confederation, against which it once more arrayed its forces. This time Buenos Ayres was victorious, and in 1862 the capital of the Confederation was removed to the city of Buenos Ayres, with General Mitre as president of the Confederation.

On May 1st, 1865, a secret treaty of alliance was

signed by Brazil, the Argentine Confederation, and Uruguay, which declared that the just limits of Paraguay, formerly 103,145 square miles, were only 57,303 square miles, and apportioned the difference between themselves. The war that followed this act of partition was literally exterminating. At that time Paraguay, under the successive dictatorships of the two Lopez's, had attained as great a degree of prosperity as perhaps the nature of the country and its inhabitants permitted. Paraguay was the land of the old christian republic; it was the land that Pombal had desired to possess for Portugal; it was still the home of the Indian missions; and although its inhabitants could no longer be dragged into mine slavery, their lands and goods could be appropriated, their orphaned children made to do service as menials or peons, and the long-standing enmity between Spaniard and native could be revived and gratified. That such was the spirit which animated the allies is abundantly proved by events.

In this war over a million of Paraguayans are stated to have perished. An enumeration made by the government in 1857 showed a population of 1,337,439 souls. At the beginning of 1873 the population, according to an official return, was reduced to 221,079 souls, comprising 28,746 men, 106,254 women over fifteen years of age, with 86,079 children.

Says a traveller in 1875 :<sup>1</sup> " When the war ended with the death of Lopez at Cerro Cora, women—even of the richest and most influential families—returned to their homes nearly naked; the large majority made their appearance in a still more forlorn plight. The population of the 'republic,' which had numbered about 1,300,000 at the beginning of the conflict, had dwindled to 200,000 or 250,000. These were mainly women and children, for the men were nearly all dead, and of the few male adults in the population the majority have immigrated into the country since the war. The national army, which

<sup>1</sup> Lippincott's Magazine, May, 1875.

under Lopez was 60,000 strong, comprised, at the time of M. Forgues's visit, 250 youths of fifteen or sixteen years of age, clad in the cast-off uniforms of the French mobiles. Of the Paraguayan children made orphans by the war, hundreds now live in Argentine families, either as adopted children or as servants. They were picked up by the Argentine soldiers during the flight of their parents to the mountains, their mothers having perished of fatigue or hunger, and Lopez's horsemen (who had been ordered to kill them to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy) having spared them through pity or indifference to continued slaughter.

"The sequel of the resistance of Lopez surpasses in gloomy details almost any similar struggle recorded in history. It has already been shown how women and children died by thousands or survived to poverty and want; but to understand the melancholy story at its worst, one should visit the valley of the Aquidaban River, where Lopez fought his last fight, or follow the line of his army's march from its camp at Panadero to the encampment at Cerro Cora, where he perished miserably. A traveller in that part of Paraguay—not M. Forgues, but Keith Johnston the geographer—who visited these localities in the summer and autumn of 1874, says that the march of the army in its final retreat can still be traced by the heaps of human bones, with rusty swords or guns or weather-stained saddles lying beside them, under every little shade-giving tree. These skeletons he saw everywhere at very short intervals."

During the Paraguayan war a revolution broke out in the north-western provinces of the Argentine Confederation, January, 1867, which declared for Urquiza. In 1868 Mitre's term expired, and Colonel D. F. Sarmiento was elected president of the Confederation. In 1870, after the extermination of the population of Paraguay, Lopez was brought to bay and killed, the war was ended, and the lands of the conquered divided among the allies,

who returned to their respective homes covered with glory. In the same year Urquiza, governor of Entre Rios, was assassinated by one Lopez, who gloried in the deed, and was duly elected in the place of his victim. The government of the Confederation having refused to recognise the legality of these transactions, this led in the same year to a new civil war, the Provincials being known as "Blancos," and the Nationalists as "Colorados," from the colours of their respective standards. During this war Lopez Jordan and General Mitre distinguished themselves as Provincial commanders in Entre Rios; nevertheless it ended, in 1873, in favour of the Nationalists. In 1871 Buenos Ayres suffered terribly from the ravages of yellow fever, a visitation to which all South American seaports are exposed, and a factor which should enter into all commercial speculations which depend upon the prosperity of these places. These ports were temporary landing-places established during the pillaging and mining eras; they are all on the water's edge, and without sufficient elevation for drainage, and they are all filthy, fetid, and unhealthy. An English company has done much, of late years, to improve the drainage of Rio Janeiro, but the remaining seaports of South America are in much the same condition in respect of sanitation as they were in the sixteenth century.

After the election of April 12th, 1874, when Doctor Nicolas Avellanda was elected president in preference to General Mitre, the Confederation was the scene of another revolution, Mitre being the leader of the malcontents. It ended December 24th with his surrender. In 1875 commenced that false, extravagant, and deceptive vaunting of Argentine resources known as "The Boom," which had for its object to obtain money in Europe on bonds, cédulas, mortgages, and other inflated and worthless papers, a subject which will be referred to again further on in this work.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "U.S. Com. Relations," 1871, p. 4; 1874, p. 59; 1875, pp. 16, 52.



In 1880 Roca was elected president of the Confederation, and the capital was removed to the city of Buenos Ayres. In 1886 Dr. Celmann was elected president and Dr. Pellegrini vice-president, both for six years. In 1890 a revolution broke out in Buenos Ayres, many lives were sacrificed, and much property destroyed. The upshot of this outbreak was the deposition of Celmann and the installation of Pellegrini in his place. In 1892 Dr. Pena was elected president. All of these "doctors" are lawyers.

*Revolutions and Wars in the Argentine.*

- 1628. Pro-slavery revolt of the Paulistas and Argentines against the royal authority. Massacre of the christian converts.
- 1641. Second revolt of the Pro-slavery party.
- 1649. Pro-slavery revolt under Governor Bernardin.
- 1651. Pro-slavery revolt of the Paulistas.
- 1691. Pro-slavery revolt of the Paulistas.
- 1723. Pro-slavery revolt under Governor Antiquera.
- 1732. Pro-slavery and Anti-tax revolution. Junta of the Comuneros under Governor Barreyo.
- 1732. Deposition of Barreyo and elevation of Ruiloba.
- 1733. Dissolution of the Junta and appointment of a Dictator.
- 1767. Second massacre of the christian converts.
- 1776. Erection of the viceroyalty of La Plata.
- 1806. Capture and sack of Buenos Ayres by British forces under Sir Home Popham.
- 1808. Evacuation of La Plata by the British.
- 1808. Invasion of Spain by the French, and abdication of Charles IV. in favour of Ferdinand VII. (Regency at Cadiz. Bell, vi, 214).
- 1808. Revolution in La Plata; Cisneros appointed Viceroy in the name of Ferdinand VII.
- 1809. Joseph Buonaparte becomes king of Spain and of the Indies; Cisneros governs absolutely in La Plata.
- 1810. Revolution of Independence; formation of the Provisional government of La Plata.
- 1812. Royalist revolution to force Cisneros upon the Provincial government. Its failure.
- 1813. Republican government under Posadas.
- 1815. Royalist revolution in favour of Charles IV. of Spain. Its failure.
- 1816. Revolution in Tucuman: Payridon for President.
- 1816. Declaration of Independence of the United Provinces of La Plata; but Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay refuse to join, and take up arms or stand aloof.
- 1816. Anarchical period and civil wars. Attempt to place the provinces under the protectorate of the Duke of Lucca. Its failure. Rodriguez, Dictator of Buenos Ayres.

- 1822. Amnesty agreed upon, but the civil war continues until 1825.
- 1825. End of the civil war. Adoption of the Argentine Constitution.
- 1826. War declared against Brazil for the possession of Uruguay.
- 1827. Uruguay revolts from the Argentine, and the government of the latter is chiefly confined to the province of Buenos Ayres.
- 1828. Civil war between the Unitarians and Federalists. Success of the latter, who make Gen. Rosas their Dictator.
- 1838. War with France. A French fleet blockades Buenos Ayres.
- 1840. Exterminating war waged by Rosas against the Unitarians.
- 1845. The French and British fleets attempt to stop this war, but without avail.
- 1847. Departure of the allied fleets.
- 1852. January. Success of the Unitarians; defeat and deposition of Rosas.
- 1852. May. Revolution. New Constitution. Urquiza as Provisional Dictator of the Republic, and Lopez as Governor of Buenos Ayres.
- 1852. September. Revolution in Buenos Ayres. Deposition of Lopez. Alsina appointed Governor.
- 1852. Revolution under Lagos in favour of Rosas. Alsina is replaced by Pintos.
- 1853. Lagos and Urquiza join forces and press the siege of Buenos Ayres. They suddenly withdraw, and Urquiza completes the government of the Thirteen Provinces, leaving Buenos Ayres out. The Argentine capital established at Parana. Establishment of present Constitution.
- 1853. Buenos Ayres declares itself independent under Obligado.
- 1859. Alsina again governor of Buenos Ayres. War declared against the Thirteen Provinces.
- 1859. Defeat of Alsina. Urquiza enters Buenos Ayres in triumph. Union of Buenos Ayres and the Thirteen Provinces, with Derqui as president and Parana as the capital.
- 1860. Revolution in Buenos Ayres and its success. Constitution modified to include Buenos Ayres.
- 1862. The city of Buenos Ayres made the capital of the republic, with Mitre as president of the entire confederacy.
- 1865. Secret treaty between Brazil, Uruguay, and the Argentina. War declared by the allies against Paraguay; it is waged with unparalleled atrocities.
- 1867. Revolution in the Argentine in favour of Urquiza.
- 1870. End of the Paraguayan war. Partition of Paraguay. A million people killed and missing.
- 1870. Civil war between the Blancos and Colorados, which lasted three years.
- 1871. Yellow fever at Buenos Ayres.
- 1873. Civil war in Entre Rios.
- 1874. Revolution led by Mitre.
- 1880. The capital definitely removed to Buenos Ayres.
- 1890. Revolution. Deposition of Cellman. Appointment of Pellegrini.
- 1892. Dr. Saens Pena elected president for six years.

Provinces.	Area, square m.	1776	1818	1836-7	1850	1869	1869	1887
Buenos Ayres.	80,400	85	150	185,200	210	495	495	1370
Santa Fé	43,700	—	30	15-20	17	89	89	240
Entre Rios	43,100	—	50	25-30	34	134	134	300
Corrientes	47,700	—	40	35-40	38	129	129	300
Rioja	83,500	—	20	18-20	19	49	211	380
Catamarca	42,000	—	40	30-35	34	80	133	160
San Juan	59,900	14	34	22-25	24	60	109	210
Mendoza	24,000	20	38	35-40	40	65	89	200
Cordoba.	36,000	22	100	80-85	86	213	40	90
San Luis	92,900	11	16	20-25	24	53	80	130
St. Iago del Estero	42,000	—	60	45-50	48	133	50	100
Tucuman	48,500	—	65	40-45	44	109	53	100
Salta	59,900	—	50	} 50-60	55	{ 89	65	160
Jujuy	39,500	—	25		—		60	125
Total	743,200	300	718	600-675	673	1738	1737	3865
Gran Chaco	240,000	} 700	700	—	700	—	{ 45	170
Central and West Pampas and Patagonia	636,300							
Provinces and Territories	1,619,500	1000	1418	—	1373	—	1830	4035

<sup>1</sup> The provincial population of 1776 is from Malte-Brun, the territorial is from Morse; the provincial population of 1818 is from Marsh; that of 1836-7 is from Parish; the population of 1850 is from Macgregor; the first enumeration of 1869 is from the "U.S. Commercial Relations," 1875, p. 36, which, in addition, allows 6000 for soldiers absent in Paraguay; and the second one is from the so-called First Census. The enumeration of 1889 first appears as the "official enumeration" of 1887; afterwards it is called the "National Census" of 1889. (See communication of E. S. Zeballos, the Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs, to John R. G. Pitkin, U.S. Minister to Buenos Ayres, dated November 28th, 1889, and printed in the "Commercial Reports" of that year, p. 119.)

According to the most recent surveys and estimates, the area of the fourteen provinces of the Argentine is 743,200 English square miles, and of the Indian territories, the Gran Chaco, the Pampas, and Patagonia 876,300 square miles; total 1,619,500 square miles, of which the Patagonian half is little better than a desert appanage.

Broadly speaking, the lands of the Argentine Republic, omitting Patagonia, consist of an alluvial territory east of the Parana; an alkaline desert—the Pampas—west of that river; and a mountainous region west of the desert, and separated from Chile by the lofty peaks of the Andes. In travelling from Buenos Ayres westward—say along the line of the Trans-Andean railway, the first portion of the Pampas, according to Mr. Head, is about 180 miles wide, and is covered with clover and thistles; the second portion, about 480 miles wide, is covered with long grass; and both portions are destitute of trees, or stones, or gravel. The third portion, about 240 miles wide, is interspersed with dwarf trees and evergreen bushes, often at considerable distances apart. Water is scarce and brackish. The whole region resembles that between the Missouri river and the Sierra Nevada of North America, and like that region is evidently the upheaved bed of an ancient lake or sea. The climate is also similar. It is very cold in winter and hot in summer, yet is dry, bracing, and salubrious. The north winds are, however, much dreaded; and in the Spanish colonial courts of justice the prevalence of these winds used to constitute a valid plea of extenuation for breaches of the peace and other offences.<sup>1</sup>

The Pampas are subject to the visitation of locusts, who often entirely cover the ground and devour every species of vegetation. The biscachas form another pest of similar character. Rain falls rarely and irregularly.<sup>2</sup> Agriculture is almost impracticable, the region being

<sup>1</sup> "U.S. Agric. Rep.," 1864, p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> "U.S. Com. Rel.," 1875, p. 52.



only suitable for pasturage. "Its herds and flocks must ever be regarded as the principal source of wealth. Wool must ever be the grand staple of the great southern plains. Even this industry is imperilled by the frequency of revolutions and civil wars."<sup>1</sup>

The principal grasses of the Pampas are spear-grass, foxtail, and a species of clover, whose yellow flower is succeeded by a burr, which, becoming attached to the sheep's fleeces, impairs the value of the wool to the extent of 15 or 20 per cent.<sup>2</sup>

Tucuman, Salta, Jujuy, and Corrientes are well adapted to sugar, cotton, rice, and tobacco; but the agriculture of the republic is neither extensive nor prosperous; the first owing to scarcity of arable lands and lack of rain, and the second to insecurity of life and property arising from frequent revolutions.<sup>3</sup> A good crop is only to be got once in three years.<sup>4</sup> The natives will not engage in tillage, and foreigners are the only agriculturists.<sup>5</sup> The Italians, many of whom are from the Papal States, are the best fruit and vegetable growers.<sup>6</sup> The agricultural methods are often very primitive; the fields are separated by ditches and hedges; the plough consists of two heavy beams of hard wood, one of which is pointed for a share; thrashing is done by the tramping of animals, and winnowing by means of the wind; the ox-cart is of the ancient Hindoo type, made without a particle of iron, and bound together with thongs of hide.<sup>7</sup> The land "boom" of 1874 attracted much foreign capital and invited many improvements. Better methods were introduced, and superior agricultural implements imported. Santa Fé

<sup>1</sup> Rev. G. D. Carrow, of Buenos Ayres, in "U.S. Agric. Rep.," 1864, pp. 240-41.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "U.S. Agric. Rep.," 1876, p. 272.

<sup>4</sup> "Consular Rep.," 1890, No. 113.

<sup>5</sup> "Agric. Rep.," 1864 and 1876.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 1864.

<sup>7</sup> J. B. Wood, U.S. Consul at Rosario, in "Agric. Rep.," 1876.

even has a grain elevator, and another one is going up at Rosario.<sup>1</sup> But the state of surrounding affairs is hardly up to this level of improvement.

In the classifications of the land of the Argentine Republic, Mulhall, evidently copying some piece of official guess-work, because no surveys had been made, allows 44 per cent. for mountains, forests, water surfaces, etc., 55 per cent. for pasture land, and 1 per cent. for agricultural lands. This is no doubt the most favorable showing that could be made without exciting derision. The best lands near Buenos Ayres are valued at \$5 to \$15 per acre; in Tucuman and Entre Rios at \$1; in Cordova and Corrientes, 50 cents; and in San Luis, San Juan, Mendoza, and other parts of the Upper Provinces at 12 cents. These are "boom" prices, and many of these lands, without roads, irrigating ditches, or other improvements, are practically worthless. Hundreds of millions of acres of lands, quite equal to those of the Upper Provinces of the Argentine, and possessing the advantages of a stable government, railway and telegraphic communication, and cheap supplies, can be had on the North American pampas for 25 cents an acre down, and \$1 more at any time during five years; yet nobody wants them.

The number of acres actually under tillage in the Argentine is given by the same authority as follows:—Year 1854, 375,000 acres; 1864, 506,000; 1874, 825,000; 1878, 930,000;<sup>2</sup> and 1884, 4,260,000. The proportional number of acres devoted to each principal crop is given for the year 1884 as follows:—Wheat, 1,717,000; maize, 825,000; flax, 198,000; grapes, 63,000; alfalfa (lucerne), etc., 1,457,000. The "Statesman's Year-book" for 1890, evidently derived from the same "official" sources, gives the following acreage for 1889:—Wheat, 2,500,000;

<sup>1</sup> "Con. Rep.," 1890.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Espeche, of the Industrial Club of Buenos Ayres, in "C. R.," 1878, p. 84. According to "C. R.," 1875, p. 51, the acreage under tillage in 1874 was 810,000.

maize, 2,000,000 ; flax, 350,000 ; alfalfa (1888), 950,000 ; other crops (1888), 500,000 : total 6,300,000 acres. No evidence is given to support these figures ; and I can only express my entire disbelief in them. They neither agree with the description of the country by Sir Woodbine Parish, Lieutenant Page, Consul Baker, Dr. Espeche, or other writers of repute, nor with the commercial statistics of recent years, nor with other figures from the same source. The "Standard" of 1878, in reviewing Dr. Espeche's figures, claimed less than 2,000,000 acres under cultivation. Says Consul Baker ("Consular Reports," No. 113, dated February, 1890): "The Agricultural Department of the Argentine Republic has never interested itself enough in such matters even to know the actual breadth of land in cereal crops, or the amount of the average crops raised. Even the amount required for the home demand is quite a matter of guess-work, and about all that is known in reference to a crop is learned from the amount which is exported." This guess-work and exaggeration, here imputed to Buenos Ayrean statistics, is nothing new. It was noticed sixty-five years ago ; and strangely enough by Mr. Baring (the late Lord Ashburton), who warned the British public against its consequences.<sup>1</sup>

The "Statesman's Year-book" for 1894 gives the land under cultivation in 1891 at 7,400,000 acres, of which wheat, 3,300,000 ; maize, 1,700,000 ; barley, etc., 400,000 ; alfalfa (hay), 1,200,000 ; vines (1892), 85,000 ; and sugar, 67,000. For 1892 it lowers the wheat acreage to 3,000,000. The truth appears to be that the acreage at present (1895) devoted to wheat is about three and a half millions, whilst two other million acres comprise all the remaining cultivated land ; the total cultivated area being less than five and a half million acres, or about one per cent. of the total area of the fourteen provinces, exclusive of Patagonia. Agriculture is subject to great vicissitudes. In

<sup>1</sup> McCulloch, "Com. Dict.," ed. 1856, p. 860, n.

1856 McCulloch wrote, "Corn, which for a considerable period was not produced in sufficient quantity for home consumption, has latterly become an occasional article of export." Says the Buenos Ayres "Standard" of February 1st, 1890, "La Plata, as a rule, can rely on only one good crop every three years, and we are now witnessing the effect of a short harvest." Wheat was imported in that year from California, Oregon, and Russia.

At the present time (1895) and in good years the wheat crop is about 30 to 40 million bushels per annum, of which about one-fourth (or 3 bushels per capita of population, the latter estimated at about 2,500,000 to 3,000,000) are consumed for seed and food, and the remainder exported. The average yield of wheat is about 10 bushels to the acre; the quantity sown about 1 bushel.

Excluding wild Indians, the population of the southern provinces of La Plata, afterwards the Argentine Confederation, has been estimated from time to time as follows:—1730–1740, about 170,000; 1776, about 300,000. This number and the following ones probably included the Mission Indians. 1818, about 718,000; 1830, about 700,000; 1833, about 550,000; 1836, about 600,000 to 675,000; and 1850 about 673,000. The number of wild Indians, a mere matter of conjecture, was estimated in 1776 at 700,000; and this number was retained by all succeeding writers until 1869, when 600,000 of these imaginary Indians were added to the number of whites, mestizoes, and negroes by attaching them to the various provinces.<sup>2</sup> They disappear from Patagonia to swell the total number elsewhere. By these means the total population, exclusive of Indians, is made to increase three times in nineteen years, namely, from 673,000 in 1850, to 1,737,000 in 1869—a

<sup>1</sup> "Com. Dict.," p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Malte-Brun; Morse, p. 130; Macgregor; Balbi; Sir W. Parish; Page, p. 535; "C. R.," 1890, No. 119; and other authorities.



device and pretence that exposes the correctness of the "census" to grave doubt.

The "official estimate" of 1887 is no better. The census of 1869, including the 700,000 savages of Patagonia, gave a population of about 1,800,000. The immigration, less emigration, from 1870 to 1887 inclusive, was about 650,000. This would make 2,450,000; and as the official estimate for 1887 gives 4,035,000, we are asked to believe that the population increased about 1,600,000 from births over deaths alone! For a population that only increased from 1,418,000 in 1818 to 1,830,000 in 1869 this is utterly incredible. It would be quite safe to regard the entire population of the Argentine Confederation in 1887, savages and all, as not much over 2,500,000. In 1892 the population was about 2,750,000; at the present time it is under 3,000,000.

Of the whole population at a recent date, Mulhall said that one-sixth were foreign born, a statement that does not agree either with the census or immigration tables. The census of 1869 showed that one-fourth were foreign born, and including those not classified, they probably constituted fully one-third or more. This proportion has not since decreased.<sup>1</sup>

An account is kept at the seaports of the republic of all passengers arriving and departing by sea. With the object of exaggerating the resources and growth of the State, this account is termed that of immigration and emigration, which, of course, it is not. According to this account, the "immigration" from 1857 to 1869 inclusive was 166,782, less about 35 per cent. "emigration." The persons embraced in these numbers who actually remained in the country are, of course, included in the census of 1869. From 1870 to 1888 inclusive the "immigration" is stated to have been about 1,200,000, and the "emigration" about 420,000. Such of these numbers as actually remained in the country are included in the census of

<sup>1</sup> "Com. Rel.," 1875 and 1893.

1889.<sup>1</sup> An agricultural colony of Jewish refugees, chiefly from Russia, has recently been planted in the Argentine, through the munificence of Baron Hirsch. Its progress will doubtless be watched with great interest. At last accounts it was said to be doing well.

Mining for the precious metals is on the average the most unprofitable of all industries. Many states and communities, aware of this fact, have entirely forbidden its continuance.<sup>2</sup> The richest mining countries are among the poorest in general wealth. The contents of a mine when once exhausted can never be renewed; the value of the newly added product (when measured by other commodities) must always tend to diminish, because, at least in peaceful times, the quantity of the former always tends to increase—a fact due to the imperishable character of these metals, and the fabrication of a certain proportion of them into coins. After its initial phases, mining requires large capital and elaborate machinery and plant. As mines are usually in remote and inaccessible regions, it seldom pays to remove the plant; so that when a mine “shuts down,” the plant is commonly a total loss. When a mine becomes barren, the owners do not abandon their costly plant at once, but keep on in the hopes that the mine will improve. For these reasons mines are often worked for long periods at a loss, and with only a remote prospect of gain—a prospect sustained by occasional instances of good fortune, but far more often frustrated by bad.

During the first twenty years after its discovery by the Spaniards there was no mining in La Plata, only plunder of the Indians, who were forced into a few wretched alluvions, or placers, and compelled to produce a stipulated quantum of gold, or suffer the torture. Mining began with the discovery of Potosi in 1535.

<sup>1</sup> Concerning assisted immigration and lands granted to immigrants, consult “Com. Rel.,” 1875, p. 51, and 1876, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> “Hist. Prec. Met.,” ch. xxxix.

This is a mountainous district, about eighteen miles in circuit and three miles above the sea level. The discovery of its treasures was made by an unlucky Indian while in search of some animals. To save himself from slipping, he caught hold of a tree, tore away some brushwood, and laid bare a piece of native silver. His revelation of this discovery cost the lives of millions of his race. During the first ten years the workings were small and desultory.<sup>1</sup> Systematic working commenced in 1545. From 1545 to 1549 it was considered a bad month when the mines failed to yield \$2,000,000; from 1548 to 1551 the produce fell to about \$1,000,000 a month. From 1556 to 1578 the average annual product was \$2,200,000; from 1579 to 1736 the average annual product rose to about \$4,000,000; from 1737 to 1789 it fell to \$2,500,000; from the discovery to 1789 the total production was \$788,000,000; in 1835 the Prefect of Potosi calculated the product from official records at 734,000,000 dollars, or pesos; altogether, from first to last, it was probably (including smuggling) about 800 millions, or twice the product of the Comstock mines. The principal mining districts in the viceroyalty of La Plata proper were La Paz, Caraugas, and Oruro.

In the list published by Helars from the records of the Spanish Chancery, it appears that there were no less than twenty-two districts worked for gold and silver, and that in these districts there were simultaneously worked 27 principal mines of silver, 30 gold, 7 copper, 7 lead, and 2 tin. Humboldt estimated their united product, at the period of the revolt from Spain, at 4,200,000 dollars per annum. It is a significant fact that no native will invest his capital in the working of mines. He will search for mines, develop them until they look promising enough to sell, and then scour the earth for "foreign capital" to purchase or work them.

In 1825, after the independence of the Confederation

<sup>1</sup> Garcilasso de la Vega, who visited the mines in person.

was acknowledged by Great Britain, a mining boom was organised in La Plata, and several millions sterling of British capital were invested in enterprises, not one of which ever paid a dividend. In 1851 Dalence said, "In Potosi there are 26 silver mines working, more than 1800 abandoned; Porco, 33 working, 1519 abandoned; Chayanta, 8 working, 130 abandoned; Chicas, 22 working, 650 abandoned; Lipez, 2 working, 760 abandoned; Oruro and vicinity, 11 working, 1215 abandoned, also 200 gold mines abandoned; Poopó, 15 silver mines working, 316 abandoned; Caraugas, 4 working, 285 abandoned; Cicasica, 9 working, 320 abandoned; Inquisivi, 5 working, 160 abandoned; Araca, 4 gold mines working, hundreds abandoned; Soratu, 7 working, over 500 abandoned; Berenguela de Pacajes, all abandoned, although many were rich; Arque, 2 working, 100 abandoned; in Ayopapa many silver mines, and in Choquecama many gold ones, all abandoned." Altogether there were about 8300 mines, of which 150 were being worked. These numbers must have included prospects as well as mines.<sup>1</sup>

At a later period there occurred a slight revival of mining in these districts; but as they now belonged to Bolivia, and no longer to La Plata, they need no further mention in this place. Among the best data on the subject of Argentine mines are the reports of the British consuls in the Consular Reports, and the American consuls in the "United States Commercial Relations," 1875, and the year following also in "El Libro de Plata," por B. Vicuña MacKenna, Santiago de Chile, 1882, in which the author concludes the subject with these words: "There is no more misleading name than that of La Plata: that country's true source of wealth is not silver mines, but wool and hides" (p. 607).

<sup>1</sup> "Bosquejo estadístico de Bolivia," por José Maria Dalence, Chuquisaca, 1851, pp. 293-4.



*Statistics of the Domestic Animals of Argentina.*

Year.	Horses.	Cattle.	Sheep.	Authority.
1810	3,000,000	12,000,000	—	Malte-Brun, iii, p. 364.
1830	3,000,000	—	—	Macgreggor says one million horses in Buenos Ayres.
1840	3,500,000	—	10,000,000	Macgreggor, for horses.
1856	5,200,000	16,500,000	20,000,000	Ibid.
1864	4,000,000	15,000,000	30,000,000	Based on exports of hides and wool.
1870	4,000,000	—	50,000,000	"Consular Rep.," 1871, says 70 million animals.
1878	4,000,000	13,500,000	57,500,000	"Consular Rep.," 1878, p. 88.
1884	4,200,000	14,200,000	70,900,000	Mulhall. Excessive.
1888	4,400,000	22,800,000	70,500,000	"Statesman's Year-book." Excessive.
1893	5,200,000	22,000,000	80,000,000	Ibid. Excessive.

Upon comparing them with the exports of hides and wool, it is evident that many of these statistics are merely empirical figures designed to prove a regular and rapid increase of sheep. Señor Zeballos added about 50 per cent. to Mulhall's extravagant figures, without the slightest warrant of fact. About one-fifth of the cattle and one-twentieth of the horses are skinned yearly, and the hides exported. The number of sheepskins exported, as compared with the number of sheep living, gradually increased from about one-eighth to one-half, as railway and other facilities brought the estancias and shipping ports into closer communication; but of late, the frozen mutton trade has changed this. In 1850, pampas sheep, only 300 miles from the city of Buenos Ayres, could be bought for 15 cents ( $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ ) a head, "hard money." The wool was so coarse as scarcely to be worth conveyance to market, and the flesh was rejected as food even by the natives.<sup>1</sup> Since that time the breed (by crossing with a few merinos imported between 1824

<sup>1</sup> "U.S. Agric. Rep.," 1864.

and 1847) improved so much as to increase the exports of wool from 14,000,000 pounds in 1850, to about twenty-five times as much in 1892.

Argentina is essentially a pastoral country ; cattle and sheep have always been, and for many generations yet will probably remain, the principal source of its wealth. In glancing over its statistics of horses and cattle, there appears to have been no substantial increase of these animals. There were 3,000,000 horses in 1810, 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 in 1840, 5,000,000 in 1856, and there were said to have been upwards of 4,000,000 in 1890. There were 12 million cattle in 1810,  $16\frac{1}{2}$  millions in 1856, 14 millions in 1884. As for the reputed 22,000,000 of 1888 and 1893, they are doubtful. On the other hand, sheep have increased enormously. These animals were probably much more numerous before the war of independence than afterwards. In 1840 there were about 10,000,000 ; in 1864, about 30,000,000 ; in 1870, about 50,000,000 ; in 1878, about 57,000,000 ; and in 1884 and 1888 about 70,000,000. At the present time they are said to number 80,000,000. Some of these figures seem open to question, but perhaps this is due to the substitution of the date of the statement for that of the estimate, a common form of error with inexact writers. I regard them as substantially correct. As for the figures published by Mulhall, they are totally invalidated by the export statistics, and can have but little basis in fact.

The exports of wool in 1843 amounted to 12,000,000 pounds weight ; 1848, 14,000,000 ; 1849, 17,000,000 ; 1850, 14,000,000 ; 1851, 14,000,000 ; and 1852, 14,000,000. In 1867 they were 150,000 bales ; 1871, 157,000,000 ; 1872, 203,000,000 ; 1873, 184,000,000 ; 1877, 214,000,000 pounds ; 1892, 154,600 tons. The number of hides exported was—in 1867, 2,333,000 ; 1871, same ; 1872 (eighteen months), 3,300,000 ; 1873, 2,600,000 ; 1877, 2,500,000. The number of sheep (including goat and deer) skins exported was—in 1872, 6,600,000 ; 1873,

5,000,000 ; 1874, 11,000,000 ; 1878, 28,800,000 skins ; 1892, 32,100 tons.

Some impetus has of late been given to sheep farming by the discovery of a practicable method of freezing mutton, and of conveying it to Europe. To meet this new trade the quality of the mutton had been improved by judicious breeding. Poultry farming has made no progress in Argentina. Down to a recent period eggs were actually imported from Italy.<sup>1</sup>

In 1864 the Argentine Confederation had about 50 miles of railway ; 1869, about 400 miles ; 1874, 884 miles ; 1879, 1500 miles ; 1884, 2290 miles ; 1889, about 6940 miles (Mulhall) ; 1893, 8023 miles ("Statesman's Year-book"). These works, including equipment, cost about £6850, or \$34,000 hard money, per mile ; say altogether about £54,750,000. The telegraph lines of the Argentine Confederation in 1872 were 3150 miles long, in 1876 about 4820 miles, and in 1891 about 17,500 miles. They should not have cost for wire, poles, insulators, instruments, and construction more than £10 per mile. Allowing double this amount, the actual outlay could not have been more than £350,000. The improvements to the port of Buenos Ayres are valuable.

Down to 1870 water in Buenos Ayres was carted up from the river. In that year the waterworks were completed, and now the city is properly supplied.

In 1826, within a year after the independence of the Argentine Confederation was acknowledged by Great Britain, it made its appearance in the London market for a loan of £300,000, which it negotiated through the house of Barings. From that time to this the "finances" of the republic have chiefly consisted of the following ingenious features: first, borrowing money in London, and not paying it; second, issuing an illimitable, unredeemable, and constantly depreciating paper money with which to pay for foreign goods, chiefly English;

<sup>1</sup> "Com. Rel.," 1875, p. 19.

third, levying export duties, so that the Argentine expenses of government might be paid by foreign nations, chiefly England; fourth, taxing the banks and commercial houses in Buenos Ayres, chiefly English; fifth, borrowing money from them, and not paying it; sixth, sales of national territory to foreigners.

In 1836 the funded debt of the Argentine amounted to \$36,000,000, besides £1,000,000 (\$5,000,000) at 6 per cent. interest "unpaid since January, 1828."<sup>1</sup> In 1865 the national debt was \$66,000,000; 1872, \$71,000,000; 1874, \$68,500,000; 1877, \$122,000,000; and 1888, \$152,500,000, bearing \$17,750,000 annual interest, besides 7 per cent. interest guaranteed by the government on the Trans-Andean railway. In 1893, after the Barings failed, the Argentine debt was \$323,000,000, and the annual charges about \$20,000,000, to say nothing of railway guarantees, provincial and municipal debts, cedulas, and other obligations. The entire financial policy of this model government may be summed up in one expressive word—*mañana*!

We are now prepared to deal with the monetary systems of Argentina. At the period of the discovery of La Plata by the Spaniards the principal coins of Spain were the gold castellano, containing about  $63\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine, identical with the Arabian dinar and Byzantine solidus; the gold ducat of about 56 grains fine, identical with the Venetian sequin; the real de plata of  $51\frac{1}{4}$  grains fine silver; and the billon maravedi of 1.52 grains of fine silver. These coins were valued in maravedis as follows:—the maravedi, 1; the real, 34; the ducat, 383; and the castellano, 490. On or before 1579 the ducat was raised to 434 and the castellano to 556 maravedis. The castellano was sometimes called "a piece of gold," and sometimes "a gold peso;" the ducat was sometimes called "a gold real." The "dobla" and the "pistole" were double ducats. The "escudo" was a silver piece of 8 reals, or "piesa de á ocho," or "peso

<sup>1</sup> Vethake, "Cyc. Americana."



fuerte," or, as it was afterwards called, a hard dollar. The "peso sencillo," or soft dollar, contained  $304\frac{1}{2}$  grains of fine silver (about 6 reals). This was the value of the Paraguay and River Plate peso, as fixed by the royal ordinance of 1618.

The following data, from the year 1535 to the year 1620, are taken from the "Recopilacion de Leyes de les Reynos de las Indias," or code of laws relating to America, published by royal authority in Madrid, 1774.

1492. One-half of all gold or silver obtained in America must be paid to the king. During the government of Ovando in Hispaniola this requirement was reduced to one-third; and in 1504 to one-fifth (quinto), at which rate it continued until 1736. This tax is of very ancient origin. In India the king exacted one-half of gold and silver spoil or produce.<sup>1</sup> In Japan the emperor exacted two-thirds.<sup>2</sup> The government of Athens exacted one-twenty-fourth from the mines of Laurium.<sup>3</sup> The temple of Delphos exacted a tenth from all gold mines. The government of Rome levied a similar tax;<sup>4</sup> and although the rate is not mentioned, it was probably one-tenth.<sup>5</sup> One-fifth was the proportion demanded by the Koran and exacted by the earliest moslem caliphs on both spoil and produce.<sup>6</sup> The same proportion was reserved for the caliph by the moslem in Spain.<sup>7</sup> The Christian kings followed this example, and even exceeded the moslem in avidity. From 1147 to 1550 the king of Portugal exacted one-half of their produce from the gold washers of the upper Tagus.<sup>8</sup> In 1379 King John of

<sup>1</sup> "Code of Manu," viii, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> "Hist. Money in Ancient States," p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> Xenophon, "De Vectigal."

<sup>4</sup> Livy, xxiv, p. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Adams' "Roman Antiq.," voc. "Decumæ."

<sup>6</sup> Al Koran, c. viii, of Spoils.

<sup>7</sup> Calcott's "Spain," vol. i, p. 95.

<sup>8</sup> "Hist. Prec. Metals," p. 37.

Castile declared the mines "free of lords and church," and subject only to the royal fifth of the gross produce. In 1578 Queen Elizabeth of England stipulated with Sir Humphrey Gilbert that he should pay the Crown one-fifth of all the gold and silver he might obtain in Nova Scotia.<sup>1</sup> At the present time the Vigra copper and gold mine, North Wales, besides rental, pays the Crown of England one-fifteenth of its produce. The quinto tax had much to do with the monetary systems not only of La Plata, but of other countries, and its study is commended to those "economists" who imagine that the cost of producing the precious metals has anything to do with the current value of coins.

1519. All gold and silver bullion obtained in America shall be taken to the governor of the province wherein obtained, or to the justice, or royal assayer, or to the mint master, if there be one, who, after having retained one-fifth for the king, shall stamp the remainder with its value in Spanish coins of the same metal, enhanced to the extent of the value of the dues (*derechos*) pertaining to the king. These last appear to have been one-and-a-half per cent. *ad valorem*. This law forbids private coinage; it secured two payments to the king so long as the bullion remained in America, and further payments whenever it was sent for coinage to Spain. It was repeated in 1535 with the penalty of death for infraction.

1535. The law of this date establishes the first mints in America, namely, those of Mexico, Santa Fé, and Potosi; also a mint to coin billon pieces for the king at San Domingo, in the island of Hispaniola. Besides the quinto or fifth on production, there were levied three reals on every mark weight of silver, namely, two reals to cover the cost of coinage and one real for the king's

<sup>1</sup> Calcott's "Spain," vol. i, p. 66.

seigniorage. The derecho of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., though not mentioned, appears to have remained. All bullion presented for coinage must exhibit proofs of its having paid the quinto, or else it is liable to confiscation. The exportation of coins, except to Spain, is forbidden. The date of this law proves that the celebrated mining district of Potosi, in La Plata, was discovered ten years earlier than is commonly supposed.

1535. Counterfeit money reported in circulation, and ordered to be traced up and seized. Mint offices to be overhauled.

1537. The American mints are permitted to coin "reales de á ocho" (pesos), halves, quarters, and eighths, "como en estos reynos," same as in Spain.

1544. The law of 1537 repeated more explicitly, "of same weight, fineness, and value as the coins of Castile."

1546. Changes the ratio of value between the precious metals.

1550. Forbids dealings in gold dust or bullion.

1551. Besides the quinto, a duty (derecho) of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. *ad valorem* is made payable to the king on all gold and silver. This law (the "covos") is repeated in 1552.

1565. Silver coins may continue to be struck in America, but neither gold nor billon coins. The explanation of this regulation is found in the sacred myth of gold, and the facility it offered to the Spanish emperor-king to raise the value of that metal by proclamation. After the plunder of America, which chiefly yielded gold, the Spaniards discovered Potosi, and commenced mining, when the produce became chiefly of silver. Believing that the seigniorage upon gold would henceforth yield but a small revenue, the king determined to enhance the value of the metal by decree, and to enjoy the entire advantage of this enhancement by coining the gold himself, and forbidding the coinage of that metal in America. The

valuation of gold to silver in Spain previous to 1546 was 1 to 10·755; in that year it was raised to 1 to 13·333.

1565. Counterfeit money reported in circulation, and ordered to be traced and seized. Mint offices to be overhauled.

1567. The seigniorage law of 1535 is modified by remitting the two reals for cost of coinage, and retaining the one real seigniorage due to the king. The derecho or "cocos" of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. also remains.

1579. The law recites that not merely of gold and silver, but of all metals and minerals, one-fifth part belongs of right to the king. In taxing gold and silver there shall first be exacted  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of their weight to compensate the royal smelters, weighers, and assayers, and immediately thereafter 20 per cent. of their weight for the king (Law xix of the Royal Fifth).

1579. In retaining the derechos and the quinto of gold the royal officials shall count at the rate of 24 maravedis to the quilate (carat) of gold, or 556 maravedis to the castellano of  $22\frac{1}{2}$  carats, "which is its just and true value." The carat is usually regarded as a measure of fineness; here it is evidently used as a weight. If it was a weight, I can only suppose that it weighed 2·96 English grains, because in weighing gold there were 4 Spanish grains (the silver mark was divided into 4608 grains) to the carat, and 4800 grains to the mark, which both as to gold and silver contained  $3550\frac{1}{2}$  grains English. In such cases the castellano weighed  $66\frac{2}{3}$  English grains. This must mean gross or standard weight, including alloy; but I am not at all confident that the calculation is correct.

1579. By the same law silver was valued at 2050 maravedis "per mark of eight ounces of five pesos." I can make nothing definite of this. Here the maravedi is ordered to contain 1·73 English grains of fine silver; whereas, according to its relation (272) to the dollar, or peso, or piece-of-8, it could not have contained over 1·52 grains fine.



1581. The preamble sets forth the vexatious diversity of weights and measures employed in the various vice-royalties or provinces of America, and substitutes for all of them the weights and measures of Toledo (New Castile), and the vara, or yard, of (Old) Castile.

1589-95. Gold, silver, and billon money authorised to be coined in Hispaniola; the billon money to be legal-tender at fixed rates, the refuser to be punished. This money was apparently intended to circulate in all of the American provinces.

1591. The law of 1550 is modified by repealing the prohibition as to dealings in gold dust or bullion, and re-enacting the prohibition to deal in silver bullion. The viceroys are to furnish coined money in exchange for silver bullion upon which the king's fifth and other dues have been paid. This appears to be a sort of counter-move to the "individual coinage" legislation of the Netherlands in 1572.

1595. The following coins, struck in Hispaniola under the king's warrant, were declared legal-tender in that island under heavy penalties: peso de plata, 450 maravedis, or 225 quartos; escudo de oro, 400 maravedis, or 200 quartos; real de plata, 34 maravedis, or 17 quartos. Bad (false?) money was stated to be in circulation in Hispaniola.

1596. The colonial official practice of exacting the king's dues in heavy coins and paying the public expenses with light ones, is forbidden.

1596. The Viceroy of Peru is ordered to confine the Indians to the work of mining, and not to permit them to leave the mines ("Recop.," ii, p. 257).

1603. The value of all billon and copper coins is doubled by decree in Spain. This decree brought about a virtual suspension of coin payments caused by the exportation of full-weighted gold and silver coins. Premium on silver coins in Spain, 40 per cent. in billon coins. Great confusion in the monetary system, which the Spanish-American viceroys resented by suspending individual coinage.

1608. The Viceroy of Spain are permitted to coin money for individual account, and without any more specific limit than they may deem necessary. This appears to be a more complete measure of private coinage than the ordinance of 1591, because it says nothing about the king's fifth or other dues.

1611. Final expulsion of the Moors from Granada.

1618. The peso of the Indian tribute, and of Paraguay, Rio de la Plata, and Tucuman, shall be discharged with six reals.

1620. From all silver bullion brought to the king's officers shall first be deducted the king's fifth,<sup>1</sup> and his prerogative (*derecho*) of mintage, 2 reals per mark, and his seigniorage, 1 real per mark; then out of the remaining bullion there shall be coined 67 reals to the mark weight. In this year base silver money made its appearance in New Granada, and is noticed in one of the laws.

1632. Royal taxes on gold, or taxes paid in gold, shall be remitted to the king in the same metal, and not paid with silver or any other metal or commodity (*Law xx of the Royal Fifths*). This implies that the king derived some advantage from gold which he did not from silver. It could not have been in the change of ratio from  $13\frac{1}{3}$  to 14, because that did not occur until 1641; nor did it arise out of the seigniorage on gold coinage, but was apparently the elaboration of a similar decree issued in 1557, designed to prevent fraud on the part of officials.

1643. No modification of royal decrees fixing the value of money is to be permitted or countenanced.

<sup>1</sup> The evasion of the quinto at this period was common. Captain Shelvock captured a Spanish vessel in 1721 which was laden with a quantity of preserved fruit packed in boxes. Upon opening these boxes some of them were found to contain cakes of silver bullion ("*Mavor's Voyages*," iv, p. 118). Numerous other instances of like kind prove that the smuggling of silver out of Spanish America had become an organised trade.

1621–55. Reign of Philip IV. The value of the billon and copper coins of Spain again doubled by decree; no limit assigned to their fabrication, and no adequate safeguards provided against counterfeits. The consequence was that the country was soon flooded with base coins fabricated in Germany, Flanders, France, England, and Italy.

In the reign of Philip V. (1700–45) the floating debt of Spain was funded. This debt consisted of assignments of anticipations (exchequer bills), temporary debts created by the Bureau of Loans, tickets of subsistence (military scrip), and mint bills (bullion receipts?). In October, 1710, all these demands upon the State were ordered to be funded, with or without consent of the creditors, into 5 per cent. stock. At this period (the close of Louis XIV's reign) the finances of France were in such a deplorable condition that 500 patents of nobility were sold by the French government for 2000 ecus each, the currency was depleted, prices declined, and a vortex was being formed which was soon to be filled by the paper emissions of John Law.<sup>1</sup> Under these circumstances there was no market in France for the Spanish stock. Hence its emission in place of the floating debt caused a violent outcry from those who had expected payment of their claims. Indeed, the discredit of the mint bills had already—that is, in 1710—caused the failure of Samuel Bernard, at that time the richest banker in Europe. He had 20 millions of these demands upon the Spanish government, and was forced to exchange them for 20 millions of unmarketable stock. The politicians of to-day who are trifling with the dangerous subject of money may glean a lesson from what happened on this occasion. The failure of Bernard brought on a general financial panic in 1714, and, like the closure of the Boston colonial mint in 1694, the panic ended with the revolt of the colonies and their loss to the mother country.

The South American revolution of 1732 was not merely

<sup>1</sup> "Money and Civilisation," p. 231.

a protest against the State protection of the Jesuits and their system of Indian tutelage; it was a general expression of disappointment and disgust with the royal government. The contraction of currency and credit rendered the taxes not only doubly oppressive, it deprived the colonists of the power to pay them. Indeed, the colonists contended that these circumstances and measures compelled them to coerce the Indians and thrust them into the mines; that it induced them to oppose the Jesuits and their benevolent system; that it forced them either to become smugglers under cover of the royal flag, or else to rid themselves of trickery, deceit, favouritism, bribery, and connivance by taking the field as home-rulers (Communeros). The South American revolution of 1732 was the herald of the North American revolution of 1775. It is true that the Communeros were put down by the royal forces, nevertheless they gained something. By a royal decree of the year 1736, the king's share of the precious metals' produce was reduced from one-fifth to one-tenth of the silver, and to one-twentieth of the gold; and this arrangement continued in force until the revolution of 1810 and the extinction of the royal authority.

The Spanish mint laws were usually altered so frequently, that an absence of alterations for so long a period as from 1736 to 1772 seems remarkable, yet the writer can find no data for this period except the changes in the ratio shown elsewhere herein. By the mint law of 1772, which Dr. Kelly says was applicable to all the provinces in Spanish America, there were ordered to be coined from a mark of gold 0·900 fine,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  doubloons, and from a mark of silver 0·900 fine,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  pesos, duros, or hard dollars; the halves and quarters to be of proportionate weight. The doubloon therefore contained  $374\frac{1}{2}$  grains of fine gold, and the peso  $374\frac{1}{2}$  grains of fine silver. As there were 16 pesos to the doubloon, the ratio was 16 for 1. All these coins were full legal-tender, and were open to



illimitable private coinage after paying the tenth on silver, the twentieth on gold, and the mint charges. On silver the royal dues and mint charges were each one real per mark weight. There was also a "small change" currency, of limited tender, consisting of pesetas and half-pesetas, 0·812½ fine, the former containing 83¾ grains of such debased silver, and the latter one-half that quantity. The half-peseta was called the Mexican or provincial real. These two highly over-valued coins were designed to circulate as quarters and eighths of the peso or duro, and this design succeeded so long as no full-weighted quarters and eighths, and so long as no counterfeits, were struck. The appearance of the latter compelled the Crown to issue full-weighted quarters and eighths; whereupon the pesetas and half-pesetas dropped in value to fifths and tenths of the dollar respectively. These over-valued pesetas were first issued in 1721.<sup>1</sup> Here is an instance where bad money did not drive out the good, but where the emissions of the latter compelled the former to take a lower value. In fact, the so-called "law" on this subject is not one of money at all, but of commodities, and it only relates to money when it has been prostituted to private coinage and degraded to the rank of a commodity.

In 1775 the mint ratio of Spain was changed from 16 to 15½ for 1, by coining full legal-tender pesetas of 72·1 grains fine.<sup>2</sup> As the French ratio at the same time was 14½, the conflict between these ratios resulted in a mean ratio in Paris of 15·08 for 1, a fact which induced the French government in 1785 to recoin its gold at the Spanish valuation of 1775,<sup>3</sup> though meanwhile, that is to say in 1779, the Spanish mint had returned to the ratio of 16 for 1. These ratios, 15½ in France and 16 in Spain, continued until 1873 and 1864 respectively.

Such was the money of La Plata when the revolution of 1810 occurred. When the smoke of this conflict cleared off, and the royal forces were driven out of the colony,

<sup>1</sup> Kelly, ii, p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Calonne's Report.

we find the currency consisting chiefly of the issues of the Bank of Buenos Ayres, which, being kept within prudent limits, circulated not only at "par in gold," but in fact were worth more than gold coins of the same denomination. This bank was the principal, and for a long time the only bank of issue in the country. It was founded in 1822, with a capital of 600,000 Spanish silver dollars. Its issues were one million dollars. These circulated at par, and even bore a slight premium as measured in gold doubloons. In 1826, upon the occasion of the war with Brazil, coin payments were "suspended." The bank was taken over by the Argentine government, who opened in its favour a credit with the Barings of £300,000 sterling. The paper issues were increased. In 1836 the coin premium was over 50 per cent., and in 1837 about 225 per cent. After this date, the issues increasing and the suspension continuing, it became more convenient to measure the fall of the paper dollar by the number of them which were required to purchase one gold doubloon. In 1836 Rosas had increased the issues to 15 million dollars, and in 1838 the paper dollar fell in value to one-eighth of the coined one. In 1855 it fell to one-twentieth, and shortly afterward to one-twenty-fifth, at which figure it remained constant for many years.

At this period foreign coins were valued in pesos fuertes, the peso then meaning a Spanish silver dollar containing actually  $371\frac{1}{4}$  grains fine. All the principal foreign coins were legal tender at values fixed by law or proclamation (what the Dutch formerly called "plakkaats"), though not fixed with any great nicety: for example, the United States gold half-eagle and the British sovereign were each fixed at five pesos fuertes, yet the latter contained three grains less of pure gold than the former. The consequence was that people sent American gold coins to the London mint, and bought sovereigns with the proceeds, making a profit of about sixpence or sevenpence on each coin.

October 26th, 1863, is the date of a monetary law which declared what moneys were to be legal tender in the Argentine Republic, and for what sums. In the Customs Law of September 21st, 1870, reference is made to the law of 1863, and duties are declared payable in any of the moneys made legal tender in 1863, or in the paper money of Buenos Ayres, or in Bolivian silver coins at their actual current (paper note) value, or in Provincial (Buenos Ayres) Bank certificates for coin or bullion deposited, or in approved four months' bills; provided that not more than 2 per cent. of the whole sum was to be paid in copper coins. It is needless to say that if any coin certificates were paid for duties, they were paid at the actual and current, not their mere nominal value.

In 1866, the bank issues being 420 million dollars, and the relation of paper to coin 25 for 1, what was called a "resumption" of coin payments took place; that is to say, the government redeemed the paper dollars at their market value of 25 for 1 gold dollar,—in other words, they paid a gold doubloon for every \$400 in paper.

On the 23rd of September, 1875, two years after the silver dollar was surreptitiously demonetised in the United States, a similar measure was carried through the Argentine Congress, and formulated as law on the 29th of the same month, it can scarcely be doubted, by the same parties and agencies. The main provisions of this measure were as follows:

1. It created what is known as the gold standard, by admitting gold bullion to private, gratuitous, and illimitable coinage into "pesos fuertes" or hard dollars, and making them unlimited legal-tenders, and by refusing the same privilege to silver and limiting its legal tender to twenty dollars.<sup>1</sup> In point of fact, however, there was neither mint nor national coinage.

2. It accorded full legal-tender to gold coins of the United States, Great Britain, France, Spain, Chili, Peru,

<sup>1</sup> "Com. Rel.," 1875, p. 38.

and Brazil, at rates based upon their contents of bullion as compared with the Argentine gold dollar.

3. It ignorantly and preposterously declared that the monetary "unit" or measure of value in the republic should consist of any one of the above-named dollars; whereas, in point of fact, the same law made the monetary unit to consist of all the 500,000,000 or 600,000,000 dollars of bank notes, *plus* such gold and silver coins of any kind soever, foreign or native, as might come into the country; such a unit being no unit, and such a measure no measure at all.

This tissue of pretence and ignorance was scarcely more than promulgated when, on the 16th May, 1876, the "resumption" was "suspended," and gold coins rose to a premium of "30 per cent.," which meant that it took 520 paper dollars to purchase one dollar of gold. In 1877 the bank issues were 711,000,000 dollars. In 1879, the suspension still continuing, the Confederation adopted a new coinage law, which declared, as before, that thenceforth gold coins should alone be full legal-tenders. The coinage of national gold dollars was decreed. Each of these was to equal in contents 5 French francs, or 97 cents American gold. In 1881 the Argentine government owed the Provincial Bank of Buenos Ayres 17,000,000 hard dollars, "secured" by \$10,000,000 6 per cent. bonds, which the Barings were to place in London at 90, and "secured" by other similar securities up to \$16,000,000, leaving an open debt of \$1,000,000. The provincial government of Buenos Ayres owed the bank 11,000,000 dollars, "secured" in a similar way. Altogether the bank held 28,500,000 hard dollars in national and provincial bonds, 1,500,000 in City of Buenos Ayres bonds, and \$2,500,000 in waterworks bonds; total \$32,500,000, or 98 per cent of the capital, which was now 34,000,000 dollars. The bank issues were 865,000,000 dollars. The bank was now reconstructed, and a new financial and monetary system was established. This was called the



"National Banking System," of November 3rd, 1881, a travesty upon that of the United States, to which it bore about the same resemblance as the legal status and financial resources of the Provincial Bank of Buenos Ayres do to those of the Bank of England. Under the National Bank Law 40 banks were organised throughout the republic, with a combined capital of 350,000,000 dollars, each dollar consisting of 25 of the old paper ones, or, so long as coin payments lasted, of dollar coins. The coins were probably of foreign mintage, no Argentine coins having been struck from the time of Rosas to 1874.<sup>1</sup>

The National Bank redeemed the issues of the Provincial Bank with their own issues at the rate of 25 for 1 ; that is to say, they redeemed 865,000,000 dollars of old paper with about 34,500,000 dollars of new paper. When this operation was completed the old paper ceased to exist. In 1883 the Rosario Gas Company, foreseeing that these banks must soon suspend, required its gas to be paid for in gold coins. In 1884 the National Bank issued fractional notes so poorly printed as to invite counterfeiting. In 1889 a law was passed requiring the bank issues to be reduced from \$158,000,000 new paper money (equal to \$3,950,000,000 old paper money) to \$100,000,000 new money (\$2,500,000,000 old). In July, 1889, the gold coin premium was 57 per cent., and in September 100 per cent. In 1890 the 1 per cent. tax on National Bank circulation indicated that the paper circulation was 110,000,000 new (or 2,750,000,000 old) paper dollars, but this is only an inference. By a law of October 16th, 1891, the National Bank was placed in liquidation, and a new bank called the "Banco de la Nacion Argentina," or Argentine National Bank, was opened December 1st, 1891, with a capital of 50,000,000 dollars, and 51 branches. In 1893 the circulating notes were estimated at 306,000,000 dollars (new currency).

<sup>1</sup> "Com. Rel.," 1874.

At the present time (1895) these notes are quoted at \$3.50 to \$3.60 for one coin dollar.

The following is a digest of the "gold standard" Act of 1881, which, like much other Argentine legislation, seems merely designed to mislead the foreigner.

The principal coin of the republic shall be a gold "argentino" and a gold coin of the same standard which shall be half its weight, and called "half-argentino." The standard, weight, dimensions, and allowance of these coins are as follows :

1. Gold argentino: 900 m. pure metal, 100 m. copper ; allowance for either (more or less), 1 m. ; exact weight, 8.0645 grammes ; total allowance, 2 m. ; dimension, 22 millimetres.

2. Gold half-argentino: metal as above ; weight, 4.0322 grammes ; allowance, 2 m. ; dimension, 19 millimetres.

The largest silver coin shall represent the fifth part of the argentino, and shall be called a "dollar." Its subdivisions shall be—

(a) A coin to represent half of the value, and which shall be called "fifty cents."

(b) A coin to represent one-fifth of the value, and which shall be called "twenty cents."

(c) A coin to represent one-tenth of the value, and which shall be called "ten cents."

(d) A coin to represent one-twentieth of the value, and which shall be called "five cents."

The value of the copper coins shall be of one and two cents.

The gold coins, so long as they preserve their weight and standard fineness, with the allowances granted, shall have forced currency in the republic, and be available for the settlement of all contracts and obligations entered into within or without its territory, unless the payment thereof be stipulated in some other national coin. (This provision amounts to "a special contract law," a thing unknown to the ancient laws of money.)

Silver and copper coin shall be a legal-tender, and circulate for a determined value, the admittance of more than ten (twenty ?) dollars in silver and one dollar in copper not being obligatory in any payment over twenty dollars.

The provisions of the preceding article shall be carried out when the mint books show that gold has been coined to an amount of not less than 2,000,000 "argentinos;" in the meantime the silver coins shall be legal-tenders for settling accounts for any amount, except in the case of special stipulation for national gold coins, which will only be feasible when more than 400,000 "argentinos" shall have been coined.

The Executive is authorised to contract with the National Bank for the acquisition of bullion for coining purposes, and for circulating the coins in the republic.

If the requirements of the circulation should necessitate a larger amount of silver coins than those to be struck under this law at the *pro rata* established the amount may be increased to \$8,000,000 but not more, without an authorisation of Congress, except in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Existing contracts, and such as may be entered into in gold before the amount fixed above is coined, shall be settled in national coins, the standard fineness and weight of the coin acting as basis.

The value of the Argentine gold coin "argentino," as compared with foreign gold coins, shall be as follows:

Latin Union, 20 francs, difference in value none; Germany, 20 reichsmarks, difference 6 cents; Great Britain, 1 sovereign, difference 4 cents; United States, half-eagle, difference 18 cents; Japan, 5 yen, difference 17 cents; Egypt, 100 piastres, difference 15 cents; Mexico, 5 pesos, difference 10 cents; Chili,  $\frac{1}{2}$  doubloon, difference 27 cents; Brazil, 10 milreis, difference 66 cents.

In 1873 all customs duties, whether on imports or exports, were made payable in coins or "convertible"

paper, a provision that, so far as exports are concerned, appears to have been subsequently relaxed.<sup>1</sup>

Such is the monetary history of La Plata, or Argentina, once the silver country, *par excellence*, of the world. It has added more than a thousand million pesos to the general stock of gold and silver; it has not one of those pesos left; it is for the present practically insolvent, and has long been living on a false basis.<sup>2</sup> (The people of Argentina possess a vast domain, much of which is valuable and full of promise; their climate is salubrious and inviting; they belong to a race that has many glorious memories to dwell upon; they are not devoid of energy and pluck: but if they would win for themselves from other people a just appreciation of these advantages, they must begin by casting aside a delusive system of finance, and rear their state anew upon the solid foundations of industry, probity, and truth.)

<sup>1</sup> "Com. Rel.," 1879, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> Let those who doubt these conclusions, or who may desire to investigate the causes which lie at the base of them, read the startling report of Señor Gaston, chief of the Bureau of Statistics in Lima, Peru, of which viceroyalty, it will be remembered, Argentina was formerly a part. It was written in 1885, and its substance republished in Consul Brunt's report to the American State Department in 1886.



## CHAPTER XX.

### PRIVATE COINAGE.

Five great eras in the history of money—Pontifico-royal period—Republican period—Pontifico-imperial period—Royal period—Private Coinage period—Moslem origin of private coinage—Omission of the coinage prerogative from the Koran—Its assumption by the Moslem conquerors of India—Private coinage practised by their permission—Consequent degradation of the Indian monetary systems—Arrival of the Portuguese in India—Private coinages of Albuquerque at Goa—Private coinages of the Dutch in India—Private coinages of the British East India Company—Idolatrous effigies on their coins—Private coinage enunciated in the Star Chamber of England—Private coinage sanctioned by Charles II, who concedes or bargains away the royal prerogative—Disastrous consequences to the commercial world—Frequent failures of banks of issue—Incompetency of the banking class to regulate either national or international Measures of Value—Demand for the resumption of the State prerogative—Progress of this movement to the present time.

**I**F we survey the entire history of money (not merely as in Chap. V, with reference to the Ratio), it divides itself into five distinct periods. First, the Pontifico-royal period, which lasted from the earliest times to the epoch of the Greek republics. In the pontifico-royal period money was coined exclusively in the temples, and stamped with the sacred emblems of religion. Second, the Republican period, when money was controlled by the senates of Sparta, Clazomenæ, Byzantium, Athens, and Rome. Third, the Pontifico-imperial period, when the coinage was assumed by the Cæsars, and so regulated by them that for thirteen centuries its essential features remained substantially unaltered. Fourth, the Kingly period, when the princes of the West, having freed themselves from the dominion of Rome, seized the coinage prerogative and exercised it

independently. Fifth, the period of Private Coinage, when the goldsmiths and merchant adventurers chartered to trade with and despoil or conquer the Orient, obtained control of the royal prerogative of coinage, and thus opened the door to that last of degradations, Private Coinage. This period has not yet ended.

But although the East India companies introduced private coinage for the first time into the states of Christendom, this was not the beginning of it. Like many other modern institutions of money, Private Coinage is of Moslem origin. In the Empires of antiquity the minting of money was a sacerdotal function, and as such it was exercised as to gold and controlled as to silver by the sovereign-pontiffs of Rome and Sassanian Persia, when Mahomet and his undaunted followers issued from Arabia to overthrow these great powers. Whether in scorn of what he regarded as their idolatrous religions, or from a neglect due to his own illiteracy, Mahomet omitted from the Koran those sacred injunctions which at that period were necessary to preserve the coinage prerogative from violation. It was in consequence of this neglect that the brave but rapacious adventurers who conquered India deemed themselves at liberty to abuse the coinage, until their issues ceased to command public respect. This is where private coinage crept in to supply that indispensable public Measure of Value which the State had failed to preserve from degradation and instability.<sup>1</sup>

Such, in fact, was the position of affairs in many of the Moslem states of India when Albuquerque, after subduing the petty principality of Ormuz, raised the flag of Portugal upon the battlements of Goa. Among the conqueror's earliest acts was the issuance of an unauthorised and

<sup>1</sup> The public, societary, or communal nature of the Measure of Value is recognised in the Mint Code, 33 Vict., ch. 10: "The Treasury may from time to time issue to the master of the Mint, out of the growing produce of the Consolidated Fund, such sums as may enable him to purchase bullion in order to provide *supplies of coin for the public service.*"

debased coinage of gold, silver, and copper. His professed object was to relieve a local dearth of coins, and to gain credit and renown for his lord the king ; his real one to buy the gold which he might fail to plunder, and sell it (in Portugal) at cent. per cent. profit. Among the native coins of Goa and of Southern India generally was the gold hun, stamped with the boar emblem (the varaya), one of Vishnu's incarnations. This coin corresponded in weight and fineness with the Arabian dinar, whilst the dirhem had its exact counterpart in the bargan of silver, of which ten went in value to the hun, or varaya. The ratio between the silver and gold in these coins was therefore 6 or 7 for 1, whilst at the same time that in the coinages of Portugal was 11 or 12 for 1. When the Dutch gained a footing in the Indies they found there a similar state of affairs, and they fell into similar practices of private coinage and monetary chicane. The example became infectious. The British East India Company followed suit. It struck idolatrous coins, under native permission, in 1620 ; and, with the door thus ajar to private coinage, it was easily pushed wide open. An intrigue with this object was introduced into the Star Chamber during the reign of Charles I, which blossomed during that of his son, in the Act 18 Charles II, c. 5, an Act that bargained away the Measure of Value, upon which must depend, for countless generations, the share of all public burdens and the distribution of all wealth. Under this legislation the royal prerogative was placed in abeyance ; and, beyond its power to determine the ratio, the State practically lost its control of money. In 1816 the Crown was persuaded to suspend the exercise of its power over the ratio. In this manner was silver demonetised. By the operation of an obscure and unnoticed clause in the Mint Act of 1870, so much of the power as the Crown retained to terminate such suspension and demonetisation was removed, and the last remnant of a prerogative whose exercise is essential to the autonomy of the State

was innocently surrendered to private hands. Practically, since 1816 the Measure of Value for the vast transactions of the British Empire has not been Money, which may be limited by law and counted by tale, but Metal, which cannot thus be regulated, and which therefore has been resigned practically to the control of a class whose chief interest in the State has been to render it subservient to their own private advantage.

What has been the result? From the day when the royal voluptuary resigned a prerogative which, more than any other one, pleads for the continuance of kingly rule, to the present time, the commercial community has been subjected to alternate epochs of monetary contraction and expansion, in which much of what it accumulates at one period is insidiously filched from it at another. The reader has but to glance at Appendix B to this volume to be convinced of the entire truth of this observation. The suspensions of banks of issue therein shown involved losses to the note-holders and others amounting to more than all the gold and silver money in the world several times over. Not only this; the surrender of the prerogative of coinage has tended to estrange the Crown from the People, whose disappointment has manifested itself in many painful symptoms. No man who takes pride in the glorious past of this Mother of States, and who would preserve that past from obliteration, should refrain from referring to these dangers, or pointing the way to avoid them in future. More than this; such dangers menace not the peace of England alone, they affect the entire commercial world.

The plain facts are these: two centuries ago the king of England plundered the goldsmiths of London of all their ready money. Partly for the reasons already mentioned herein, and partly, perhaps, to make amends for this act, his son substantially sold and surrendered to the goldsmiths the State prerogative of coinage. Owing to England's commercial supremacy (due to the energy of



her people, not to the plans of goldsmiths) this made the latter the sole arbiters of the Measure of Value, not merely of England, but of the Western world. These tremendous powers have been wielded with such inadequate perception of the equities and consequences they involved, with such lack of scientific or financial skill, and in so narrow and selfish a spirit, that its arbiters have repeatedly plunged the commercial world into bankruptcy, and confiscated or inequitably redistributed its accumulated earnings, either for their own benefit or else to save themselves from the effects of their own blundering.

From this selfishness, ill-management, blundering, and recklessness, from the evidence which they have given before governmental commissions on this subject, both in this country and in others, from the countless books and pamphlets in which they have contradicted each other, both as to fact and opinion, on the subject of money, as well as from many other evidences, it has become quite obvious that the goldsmith class, which includes the managers of banks of issue, are less competent to understand and regulate the Measure of Value than are the representatives of the People, whose patriotism, conservatism, and societary instinct furnish a far more reliable basis for the stability of Money than the doctrines, the prejudices, or the selfishness of a limited class.<sup>1</sup>

Even amongst themselves this class has been unable to agree with regard to the diagnosis of monetary troubles, or the proper remedies to apply. Chaos in legislation had bred chaos in doctrine. All that has been perceived clearly, either by them or anybody else, is that since the era of Private Coinage and Private banks of issue the industrial and commercial world has suffered repeated

<sup>1</sup> Consult the writer's examination of Mr. Albert Gansl, banker and agent of the Rothschilds before the U.S. Monetary Commission, printed in their Report at Washington, 1876, i, app., p. 49. Also Mr. Chaplin's examination of Lord Farrer, "Rep. Royal Com. on Agricultural Distress," 1895, part ii.

reverses, for which no indemnity has been offered and no practical remedy discovered. But the synchronism of these events has itself disclosed the source of the trouble and indicated the correct treatment. That treatment is the resumption by the State of its ancient prerogative of money. Upon referring to Appendix C, which gives an account of the present monetary systems of various States, the reader will observe that Private Coinage has been forbidden as to silver in all the Western States (except Mexico), and that as to gold it is a dead letter, because all the available supplies of this metal have become concentrated in four or five principal States, chiefly as war-funds. The Movement to couch the world's indebtedness in only one of the two metals which had previously answered for the bases of its monetary systems, has served its purpose; but it has had other results than those anticipated by its promoters. It has already terminated the private coinage of silver; it now threatens to put an end also to the private coinage of gold.

The States which in 1873 were duped into doubling their indebtedness have outlived their resentment, and become reconciled to a loss which has enabled them to dispense for the future with that mischief of Private Coinage, which alone rendered such loss possible. Most of them now exercise, for the first time in centuries, a more or less complete control over their own monetary systems; and the sense of relief and security which has followed the change has communicated itself to other States, and stimulated a popular demand for the entire interdict of Private Coinage. Such is the gist of the Resolution passed at the recent Convention of St. Louis, and such will also doubtless be the outcome of many future monetary and political conventions. In effect, the demand is that the State or Crown should resume its ancient prerogative; the State now is identical with the Crown, for the State alone can stop the alternate melting down, shipping to and fro, and re-coinages of metal which lie

at the base of monetary disturbances. The contention henceforth may be not whether the symbols of money shall be made of one metal or of two metals, but that the State and not the money-changers shall control its issues.







## APPENDIX A.

### STATISTICS OF THE RATIO.

**T**HE coinage ratios of silver to gold in Persia, Judea, Greece, the Gothic and Saxon States, the Moslem States, England, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, and Germany have been shown in their appropriate chapters. To complete the subject it only remains to adduce the ratios in India, Rome, Spain, and Portugal.<sup>1</sup>

At the earliest period of which we have any positive knowledge the coinage ratio in the Orient was 6 or  $6\frac{1}{2}$  for 1, whilst at the same time it was 13 for 1 in Persia. Down to the epoch of Mahomet it seems to have been the policy of every state in the West, which secured any important share of the Eastern trade, to value its gold coins at twice the quantity of silver for which they exchanged in the Orient. Such was the case with Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, Macedonia, Egypt under the Ptolemies, and Imperial Rome. It is evident that no such enormous disparity of value as this could have been maintained if private coinage had been permitted, either in the Orient or Occident. Neither could any small or weak state have upheld such a condition of affairs. The control of money and trade must have been in very powerful hands to maintain gold in the West at twice its value in the East, or silver in the East at twice its value in the West. Whose hands were these? The answer is, the priesthood; the priests of Brama or Budha in the East, the priests of Cyrus, Darius, Tiglath-pil-Esar, Nebu-Nazaru, Osiris, Alexander, Ptolemy, and the Cæsars in the West. With the advent of Mahomet all this changed, the priests of the West lost their power, and the same ratio prevailed at Delhi, Bagdad, and Cordova. When Rome resumed her sway over the long-lost province of Spain the Eastern ratio entirely disappeared from the coinages of Europe; when her emissaries reached India it began to fade from the Orient. To-day the ratio of Cæsar, as modified by the legislation of Charles V, Philip V, and Louis XVI, dominates the monetary system of every state in the world.

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<sup>1</sup> The coinage ratios in China, Japan, Persia, Assyria, Egypt, the Italian States, France, Austro-Hungary, Russia, and some of the American States are given in my former works.

*Ratio of Silver to Gold in India.*

Year.	Ratio.	Remarks.
B.C.		
—	1	Archaic epoch. Inference deduced from the use of electrum coins composed of gold and silver. Gibbon ("Misc. Works," vol. iii, p. 420) says the commonest ratio in remote times was 1=1. Agatharchides; Strabo, lib. xvi, c. 18; and Del Mar, "Hist. P. M.," p. 239. Chabas ("Researches on the Papyrus of Boulak") says $1\frac{3}{4}$ = 1 in Egypt.
—	4	Vedic epoch. Inference deduced from quaternary tale relations in the Vedas, noticed by Thomas ("P. K. D.," p. 4).
1650	5	Braminical epoch. Pococke. Inference deduced from quinquennial tale relations of moneys in Braminical scriptures.
1367	6	First Budhic epoch. Prinsep. From weights of coins, Leon Faucher deduces ratios of $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 6 @ 8 for 1.
521	$6\frac{1}{2}$	Second Budhic epoch. India (valley of the Indus) plundered by Darius Hystaspes. Persian ratio 13 for 1. Herodotus. Sir A. Cunningham, p. 5, says 8 for 1 in India, but I think he is mistaken.
332	$6\frac{1}{4}$	India (valley of the Indus) plundered by Alexander. Alexandrine (Egyptian) ratio $12\frac{1}{2}$ for 1.
312	$6\frac{1}{4}$	India (valley of the Indus) plundered by Seleucus Nicanor, Epiphanes.
A.D.		
400	—	Fahian mentions gold, silver, and copper coins and cowries in India.
629	—	Huen Tsiang mentions gold, silver, and copper coins in India (Beal, i, 54).
700	$6\frac{1}{2}$	India plundered by the Moslem, whose raids extended A.D. 698–1001. This is the period when the latest alterations are believed to have been made in the Code of Manu. Its tale relations of coins are chiefly octonary.
1150	8	Delhi. "Middle Ages Revisited," ch. xi, note 39A.
1290	4 @ 10	Marco Polo. Ratios prevailing in places on his route, the highest being at the seaports of China ("Middle Ages Revisited," ch. xi, note 39A).
1295	7 (?)	Jul-al-ad-din mohurs, 163·8 grains fine; later ones, 154·84 grains fine (Harrison).

Year.	Ratio.	Remarks.
A. D.		
1324	7 @ 8	Mahomet-bin-Tuglak. Thomas ("P. K. D.," pp. 232-7).
1351	6½	Firoz-Shah. Tale relations octonary. Eight silver adalis 140 grains fine = one gold mohur 175 grains fine; a ratio of 6½ for 1.
1398	7	India plundered by Timur or Tamerlane the Tartar.
1450	7	Bahlol-Lodi. Reduction of the silver tanka to 56 grains (Cunningham, 24).
1498	6 @ 8	Voyage of Vasco de Gama ("Hist. Money Anc.," p. 106).
1510	6½	Native ratio at Goa between gold huns and silver bargans.
1520	6 @ 8	Coasts of India plundered by Portuguese, Dutch, and French ("Hist. Mon. Anc.," p. 106).
1542	9	Sher Shah. Earliest arrivals of silver from America. Rupee 174.4 grains nearly fine. (Harrison; Thomas, "P. K. D.," p. 5, says 178 grains; elsewhere 175 grains).
1545	9	Regular silver shipments from Acapulco, about £200,000 a year.
1555	9½	Akbar the Great, Grand Mogul. Rupees 170½ grains fine (Harrison). Private coinage interdicted. Seigniorage 5½ per cent. For ratio and seigniorage, "P. K. D.," 424-6.
1587	—	East India Companies formed. Portuguese, 1587; Dutch, 1595; English, 1599; the last incorporated, 1613.
1599	—	Queen Elizabeth refuses permission to the East India Company to circulate Spanish coins in India, and requires them to use coins with the royal effigy. Hence the "portcullis" coins.
1601	9.0	"Portcullis" silver coins, viz. dollars, halves, quarters, and eighths, struck in London by the Crown for the East India Company for use in India. A few years later, similar coins were struck of gold (Humphreys, "Coin Manual," pp. 461, 524; Harrison; Thurston).
1620	10.0	East India Company mint erected at Madras, which strikes "three-swamy" or Laksmi pagodas, by permission of the native Rajah (Harrison; Thurston).
1639	—	Private coinage suggested in the Star Chamber of England.
1655	—	Cromwell destroys the East India Company's charter, but is compelled to renew it.
1666	—	Private coinage authorised in England, 18 Chas. II, ch. 5.

Year.	Ratio.	Remarks.
A.D.		
1671	10·0	East India Company's mint erected at Bombay (Poole; Harrison says 1678).
1677	—	East India Company authorised by the British Crown to coin gold, silver, copper, or lead, with its own devices.
1697	10·0	Auranzib, Grand Mogul. Ratio deduced from materials in Gibbon. Gold coins of this emperor competed in the circulation with the native gold huns of Southern India. Both were of the same contents.
1739	10 @ 11	India plundered by Nadir Shah, of Persia.
1749	10·0	India plundered by the East India Company (Taylor's "Hist. India;" Partington's Encycl., art. "East India Company").
1759	10·0	Wm. Winfred Webb, "Currencies of Rajputana," 1893.
1766	16·4	New monetary system of East India Company. Mohur, 149·72 grains fine, valued at 14 sicca rupees, 175·0 to 175·8 grains fine, both full legal-tenders.
1769	14·8	Mohurs, 190·086 grains fine, valued at 16 sicca rupees, 175 to 175·8 grains fine; both full legal-tenders.
1774	15·0	Bombay mohurs and rupees of same weight, the former 0·9926 fine (same as Venetian sequin), making the ratio (nearly) 15 for 1 (Kelly's "Cambist," i, p. 94).
1793	14·8	Silver coins sole legal-tenders. Mohurs 189·4 grains fine, valued at 16 rupees, 175·9 grains fine. Ratio 14·86 for 1. Harrison says 14·81.
1800	15·0	Bombay mohur of 164·68 grains fine, valued at 15 Lucknow rupees of same weight and fineness; both coins full legal-tenders.
1818	15·0	Mohurs, 187·65 grains fine, valued at 16 sicca rupees, 175·9 grains fine; both coins full legal-tenders (Harrison). Mohurs, 165 grains fine, valued at 15 Company rupees of same contents (Kelly, i, p. 91; ii, p. 147).
1821	14·8	Bengal. Mohur and sicca rupee, mint regulation, 14·857 for 1; assay ratio, 14·827 for 1 (Kelly, ii, p. 147).
1821	13·9	Madras. Star pagoda and current rupee, mint regulation, 13·872 for 1; assay ratio, 13·857 for 1 (Kelly, ii, p. 147).
1821	15·0	Bombay. Gold rupee and silver rupee, mint regulation and assay ratio give like results. (Kelly, ii, p. 147).
1835	15·0	September 1st. Silver coins sole legal-tenders



Year.	Ratio.	Remarks.
A.D.		
1838	15·0	throughout all British India. Mohurs, 165 grains fine, valued at 15 rupees, same contents. January 1st. Demonetisation and withdrawal of sicca rupees.
1841	15·0	Gold and silver coins both full legal-tenders.
1852	15·0	Silver coins sole legal-tenders.
1858	15·0	The British Crown resumes its prerogative of the government of India. End of the East India Company.
1863	15·0	First systematic issues of paper money.
1893	15·0	June 23rd. Individual coinage of silver suspended, the outstanding silver rupees remaining sole legal tenders.

The Indian ratio has been already sufficiently commented upon in Chap. I. and elsewhere throughout the present work. We therefore now turn to the Roman ratio.

### *The Roman Ratio.*

Year.	Ratio.	Remarks.
B.C.		
316	9	Scrupulum coinage.
268	10	Ogulnius and Fabius, Consuls.
218	10	Second Punic War.
206	10	Claudius and Livius, Consuls.
78	9	Sylla. Social Wars.
45	12	Julius Cæsar, sovereign-pontiff.
13	12	Augustus Cæsar, sovereign-pontiff. From the Julian era no change was made in the ratio to the Fall of the Empire in 1204, during the whole of which time it remained fixed at 12 silver for 1 gold.
A.D.		
1204	12	Alexis IV, sovereign-pontiff. Fall of the Empire.

Turning from the ratio within the Empire, which was always 12 for 1, to the ratio without, we have seen that down to the eleventh or twelfth century the ratio in the Orient and in the Moslem kingdoms of the Levant and Spain was  $6\frac{1}{2}$  for 1; in the Gothic or semi-

Gothic States—*e. g.* the Netherlands, Denmark, and Scandinavia—it was 8 for 1; and in Britain (with certain exceptions), Germany (before and after the Carlovingian rule), and France, 8 to 10 for 1.

The following tables of the ratio in Spain and Portugal are recensions of my former essays on this subject. They are given in this place in order to embrace all the information which the author has been enabled to collect down to the present time.

The ratio in Roman Spain was 12 for 1; in Gothic Spain, 8 for 1; in Moslem Spain, down to the reign of Abd-el-Raman III,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  for 1. After that period it began to again yield to the influence of the Roman ratio, which by this time was re-established in the neighbouring State of France (Edict of Charles the Bald). Meanwhile the petty Gothic kingdoms of Northern Spain had adopted the Moslem ratio. For a time the greatest confusion prevailed, but this finally ended with the general adoption of the Roman ratio by the Christian princes of Spain. In the twelfth century Pope Innocent III. ordered the king of Aragon (Pedro II.) to restore his (silver) coins, a fact that evinces the papal desire to exercise the prerogative of money. In the reign of James I. of Aragon the ratio was 12. After the Fall of Constantinople the ratio again fell into confusion, the Moslem princes usually coining at 7 or 8, and the Christians at 9 or 10, for 1; but there was no uniformity in each class by itself. In the fifteenth century Henry IV. coined at  $7\frac{1}{2}$  for 1.<sup>1</sup> By this time the Moslem power was near its end, and its influence upon the ratio almost lost. The following table shows the Spanish ratio from 1475 downward.

*The Ratio in Spain.*

Year.	Ratio.	Remarks.
A.D.		
1475	10:985	Castile and Leon.
1480	11:555	All Christian Spain.
1483	11:675	Ferdinand and Isabella.
1497	10:755	Edict of Medina.
1502	10:755	Expulsion of vast numbers of the Moors.
1537	10:755	Silver permitted to be coined in America, subject to the Quinto tax.
1545	10:755	Oriental ratios raised generally from $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 10.
1546	13:333	American bullion now chiefly silver.
1565	13:333	One-fifth of American product sent direct to Asia.
1580	13:333	Gold coinage forbidden in America.
1608	13:333	Gold coinage permitted in America.

<sup>1</sup> "Mon. and Civ.," p. 101; from Saez.

Year.	Ratio.	Remarks.
A.D.		
1611	13·333	A million of Moors expelled from Spain.
1641	14·0	Locke, on "Money."
1650	15·0	White's "Report to the U.S. Congress."
1675	16·0	Harris (ii, 122) notices change of ratio. Spain loses control of ratio and adopts the Portuguese ratio. In 1734 silver coins 6 per cent. premium.
to		
1734		
1760	14·25	French ratio 1726 to 1785 was 14·46 for 1.
1765	14·875	Calonne.
1775	15·536	—
1779	15·875	Calonne says 14·875; a blunder.
1786	16·380	—
1821	16·0	Some coinages show ratio of 15·85.
1864	15·476	First change since 1821.
1868	15·5	Figuerola Law, October 19th, following the Latin Monetary Union.
1876	15·5	Decree of August 20th, suspending "free" coinage of silver, and announcing the intention to limit silver legal-tender to 150 pesetas. Actual currency, inconvertible bank paper, 1½ per cent. under silver and 3 per cent. under gold.
1890	15·5	The ratio merely nominal; bank paper filling the circulation.
1895	15·5	Same.

*The Ratio in Portugal.*

Year.	Ratio.	Remarks.
A.D.		
1510	11·0	Bullion trade opened at Goa. Indian ratio 6½.
1545	13·3	Trade opened with Japan, where the ratio was $8\frac{1}{10}$ .
1580	13·3	From 1580 to 1640 Portugal belonged to Spain.
1641	14·0	Spanish ratio.
1668	16·0	War with Spain ended in 1665.
1688	16·0	Edict of August 4th.
1722	15·9	Standard lowered from 0·916⅔ to 0·908.
1747	13·3	Weight of silver coins lowered.
1797	12·0	Suspension of coin payments, 1797.
1798	13·3	Restoration of the coin weights of 1747.
1802	13·2	Slight variations of standard in coin assays.
1808	13·2	Do. do.
1811	13·3	Do. do.

Year.	Ratio.	Remarks.
A.D.		
1822	15·9	Lowering of the gold coins in weight.
1834	15·9	—
1835	15·9	—
1838	15·3	Lowering of the silver coins in weight.
1847	16·4	Further lowering of the gold coins.
1854	14·2	Silver limited to 5 milreis legal-tender.
1880	14·1	No further change of legal-tender law.
1891	14·1	Suspension of coin payments. Ratio merely nominal.

It will be remarked that as, one after another, the Western states fell under the sway of Rome, whether the Lord of that Empire was pagan or christian, their coining or valuing ratios obeyed the Roman rule of 12 for 1, and never stirred from it until the Empire fell. With that event order and regularity disappeared. Every prince coined for himself, and often with little regard for his neighbour. The consequence was the widest dissonance of the ratio. It is abundantly evident from the events of the period that this evil would soon have cured itself. The German princes entered into numerous conventions to harmonise their diverse systems. At quite an early period in the history of England as an independent state her sovereigns also made several attempts of this character, until in an evil moment Charles II. threw all these efforts away by flinging his great prerogative to the money-changers.

However, their control of money in its larger, its political sense, is drawing to an end. They have employed the lever of private coinage to enhance gold and depress silver, until now the former stands at double and the latter at half its former value. But something else has also happened; the doors of the world's silver mints have been shut in their faces; and in the limited silver coinages of the various states, the customary ratio of 15 or 16 to 1 has been maintained without alteration ("Étalon boiteux"). If the common belief of mining men throughout the world is well founded, namely, that owing to the attraction of open mints, silver has hitherto been produced from the mines at a loss,<sup>1</sup> then it follows that the closure of the mints to silver and the relinquishment of unprofitable mining will sooner or later not merely restore silver to its former value, but enhance it to a point where, as was the case thirty years ago, gold at the customary ratio fell to a discount in the twin metal.

<sup>1</sup> Ample testimony supporting this opinion will be found in the author's "History of the Precious Metals," chap. xxix.



## APPENDIX B.

### BANK SUSPENSIONS SINCE THE ERA OF PRIVATE COINAGE.

**S**USPENSIONS of banks of issue under the system of private coinage, and of private issues of circulating notes :

1696. Bank of England stopped payment of its notes two years after it started (McCulloch, "Dict. Com.," ed. 1844). Resumed 1698.

1714. Philip V. stopped payment of his treasury bills, and caused the failure of Samuel Bernard, the principal banker in Europe.

1717. Bank of France stopped payment, and scaled its prodigious issues down to a mere fraction of their face value ("Mon. and Civ.," p. 238).

1717. Bank of Venice failed before it became a bank of issue ; it stopped payment again this year when it was a bank of issue.

1718. Bank of Stockholm stopped payment of its issues.

1745. Run on the Bank of England thwarted by the device of paying in shillings and sixpences (McCulloch, 78).

1745. Bank of Copenhagen stopped payment of its issues.

1762. Bank of Austria stopped payment of its issues.

1766. Money of India changed from copper and billon to silver, causing a great withdrawal of silver money from Russia, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, England, etc., and many bank failures in those countries.

1768. Bank of Russia (originally Bank of Assignats) stopped payment of its issues ; 1796, stopped again ; resumed in 1843 at the rate of one silver rouble for  $3\frac{1}{2}$  paper ; stopped payment again in 1854, and has not since resumed. The circulating money of Russia at the present time consists entirely of inconvertible paper notes and base silver and copper coins. ✓

1783. France. The Caisse d'Escompte stopped payment of its issues ; in 1787 it stopped again ; in 1793 the National Convention swept it out of existence, and supplanted its dishonoured notes with assignats ("Mon. and Civ.," p. 243).

1790. The Bank of Amsterdam, which was popularly supposed to have a coin behind every one of its issues, a belief in which

Adam Smith concurred, was discovered to be destitute of any coin reserve whatever, and hopelessly insolvent.

1793. One-third of all the English banks of issues stopped payment (McCulloch).

1796. Bank of Russia stopped (*see* 1768).

1797. Scarcity of silver coins in England relieved by the issue of Spanish dollars and other silver coins countermarked or minted by the Bank.

1797. February 25th. The Bank of England stopped payment of its issues for twenty-four years, when it commenced to redeem its own notes at a discount. During the process of redemption, England, being a creditor State, drew so heavily upon the stocks of coins in other States as to compel their banks also to stop payment. This occurred in almost every State in Europe and America. In short, the perturbation caused by the change from copper to silver money in India lasted until the opening of California, a period of nearly ninety years.

1797. Bank of Ireland stopped payment of its issues (McCulloch).

1797. Bank of Portugal stopped payment of its issues ("Mon. and Civ.," p. 138).

1797. Bank of Venice stopped payment of its issues. This was its third failure (*see* above). The bank was finally wound up in 1808 ("Mon. and Civ.," p. 36.)

1798. The euphemistic character of the term "free coinage," when applied to the coinage of England under the Act of 1666 (this being virtually a monopoly of the Bank) is thus exemplified by Mr. Hawkins:—"In the year 1798, in consequence of the extreme scarcity of silver money, Messrs. Dorrien and Magens sent a quantity of bullion to the Mint to be coined, according to the law, which had never been repealed, by which it was enacted that any one sending bullion to the Mint might have it coined into money upon the payment of certain dues. The whole was actually coined into shillings, . . . but the very day on which the bankers were by appointment to have received the coin, an Order of Council was received commanding it all to be melted, upon the ground that the proceeding had been irregular, and that no coinage was lawful without the sanction of a royal proclamation. Very few indeed of these pieces escaped the crucible. Specimens, however, exist in the collection of the British Museum." The principle here laid down contrasts very strangely with the suppression of the royal prerogative effected by the Mint Act of 1870.

1800. Bank of Austria, originally Bank of Vienna, stopped payment of its issues. In 1810 an abortive attempt was made to "resume" in "redemption notes" at 3 for 1; 1810, abortive resumption in "anticipation notes" at 5 for 1; 1816, the newly established

Bank of Austria bought up the now demonetised "anticipation notes" at their market value. In the midst of this operation the new bank suspended coin payments ("Money and Civilisation," p. 333). Resumed in 1824, when the remaining "anticipation notes" were retired at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  for 1. 1848. Suspension of coin payments, which still continues, the currency of Austria consisting entirely of paper notes and minor silver and copper coins. Preparations are now (1895) being made to "resume" with gold coins. With this professed object a loan of £40,000,000 gold is announced to have been negotiated with the Rothschilds.

1800. Bank of Genoa (or House of St. George) stopped payment of its issues. It had been a bank of issue since 1673 ("Money and Civilisation," p. 40).

1801. Germany. The Banks of Prussia and many other states stopped payment of their issues in consequence of the losses and apprehension occasioned by the Napoleonic wars. This monetary disturbance on the Continent was soon after reflected in England and America.

1804. Judging from the issuance of Spanish dollars counter-marked "Bank of England, 1804," and "Five-shilling dollar," the royal prerogative of coinage appears to have been again exercised by the Bank.

1804. Specie-Bank of Copenhagen stopped payment of its issues.

1810. Hundreds of banks stopped payment of their issues in England, the United States, and other commercial states; the consequence of monetary disturbance on the Continent.

1811. July 11th. The Bank of England again exercised the royal prerogative by striking 3s. and 1s. 6d. silver coins. Legend, "Georgius III, Dei Gratia Rex. . . . Bank token, 3s., 1811" (to 1816). Gross weight 227 English grains (Henfrey's Keary, p. 264).

1816. British mints closed to the private coinage of silver, unless reopened by royal proclamation. No such proclamation was issued down to 1870.

1814—1819—1825. During this period nearly all the private banks of issue in the United States stopped payment, owing to the drain of coins to supply the Bank of England. Albert Gallatin, Rep. as Secretary of the Treasury.

1820. Ecclesiastical States. The pontifical banks, Dello Spirito Santo and Monte di Pietà, stopped payment of their issues, owing to the drain of metal to England. All payments above 5 scudi were made in the inconvertible (legal tender) notes of these institutions, which were at a discount in coins.

1821. Bank of Brazil stopped payment of its issues ("Money and Civilisation," p. 155).

1825. To save itself from the discredit of having to again "suspend," the Bank of England issued as money a million of £1 and £2 notes accidentally found in a box (McCulloch, "Dict. Com." p. 81).

1825. Seventy country banks in England stopped payment of their issues.

1826. Above a hundred country banks in England stopped payment. The Duke of Wellington, who was in the Cabinet this year, said that but for the strenuous exertions of the Rothschilds the Bank must have stopped payment ("Notes of Conversations with the Duke of Wellington," by Philip, fifth earl of Stanhope, p. 211).

1826. Argentine Confederation (La Plata). All the banks stopped payment of their issues. In 1866 "resumption" takes place at 25 for 1; 1876, suspension of resumption; 1881, resumption of "resumption;" 1891, suspension of resumption. At the present time (1895) the currency of the Argentine consists entirely of inconvertible paper notes, with minor coins for small change.

1828. Between 1804 and this year all but eight of the banks of issue in Ireland (about fifty in number) stopped payment (Sir H. Parnell, "Observations on Paper Money").

1829. Spain, July 9th. Bank of San Carlo stopped payment of its issues ("Money and Civilisation," p. 117).

1830. Between 1809 and 1830, 311 English private and provincial banks stopped payment (McCulloch, p. 95). The report of the Secret Committee appointed by the House of Commons in 1836 showed a most disgraceful state of affairs (McCulloch, p. 96).

1834. Bank of England notes made legal-tender (except from the Bank) for all sums above £5 (McCulloch).

1835. Brazil. All the banks stopped payment of their issues, and have never since resumed. The currency of Brazil consists entirely of paper notes, with nickel and copper coins for small change.

1837. About May 1st. Louisiana. Planters' Bank stopped payment of its issues, and caused the failure of J. L. and S. I. Joseph, agents for the Rothschilds in New York. The stoppage of this great house, with assets aggregating over seven million dollars, precipitated the fall of all the banks in the United States.

1837. May 10-16. United States. The removal of the government deposits from the banks, the enforcement of the law requiring collectors of the revenue to refuse all except government money, and the failure of the Josephs precipitated a crisis, in which fell the (second) Bank of the United States (a private bank with governmental patronage), together with about eight hundred branches and country banks, all of which stopped payment of their issues.



1839. After a temporary resumption, the Bank of the United States, and with it all the country banks, stopped again. General resumption took place about 1845; but the effects of this widespread disaster were observable for more than twenty years.

1841. United States. Out of the convulsion of 1837 the Bank of the United States was the first to raise its head (1839), but it failed again, and finally in 1841, when the government withdrew its patronage.

1842. United States. Between 1830 and 1842 no fewer than 311 banks of issue succumbed in the United States, precisely the same number as failed in England between 1809 and 1830 (*see above*) (McCulloch, p. 114).

1847. England. Run on Bank of England. October 25th, Bank Act suspended.

1848. Bank of France stopped payment of its issues (Tooke, "Hist. Prices," vi, p. 48; "Mon. Civ.," p. 264).

1848. Bank of Austria stopped payment of its issues (*see above*).

1848. England. Numerous English provincial banks stopped coin payments (Morier Evans).

1850. Buenos Ayres. All the banks stopped payment.

1853. Russia stopped payment (*see above*, sub anno 1768).

1857. England. Commercial panic and run on the Bank of England. November 12th, the Bank Act again suspended.

1857. United States. In consequence of the panic in London, and the withdrawal of metal to support the Bank of England, nearly every private bank of issue in the United States was compelled to "suspend." However, in the course of a few months, they all resumed again.

1862. United States. In April, 1861, the Civil War broke out; in August the Federal government borrowed from the private banks chartered under State laws £10,000,000—coin; in January, 1862 (so little coin was there left in the country), the most important of these banks stopped coin payment of their issues, whereupon all the rest (some 1800 in number) followed suit. The combined circulation of these banks, of which not one-fifth was ever redeemed, amounted to over £80,000,000. The existing private banks of issue, called "National" banks, were chartered by the Federal government under the Act of 1864, and their issues are secured by a deposit of government stock with the Treasurer of the United States.

1864. Failure of Souta and Co., of Rio Janeiro. This precipitated the failure of the Bank of Brazil and several other Brazilian (private) banks of issue. Whereupon the government took the note issues into its own hands. There have since been no failures ("Mon. and Civ.," p. 159).

1866. May 10th. England. Failure of Overend, Gurney, and Co., Limited. A commercial panic occurred in London on the following day.

1866. Italy. During the war with Austria the Italian treasury and banks stopped payment in coin, the former issuing *corso forzali*, in which the latter redeemed their issues. In 1876 Italy borrowed £16,000,000 in gold, with which to resume coin payments. By the year 1893 this money found its way out of the country; a number of banks, including the Banca Romana, failed; and to-day there is but little money to be seen in circulation besides inconvertible paper and minor silver and copper coins.

1868. Spain. The Republic adopted the Figuerola law, similar to that of the Latin Union, although it was opposed by the Bank of Spain. So far as the coinage of gold is concerned it was never carried out. The monarchy was restored under Amadeo in 1870; it fell in 1873, and a new Republic was set up in 1874, whereupon the Bank of Spain stopped coin payment of its issues. Since resumed in silver.

1870. Bank of France suspended coin payment of its issues ("Mon. and Civ.," p. 264). Resumed in gold, 1880.

1873. September 18th. Panic in New York, owing to greenback contraction. Temporary suspension of coin or other legal-tender payments by over two thousand banks throughout the United States. The Treasury issued twenty million dollars of additional greenbacks, the panic was allayed, and the banks "resumed" (in greenbacks) soon afterward.

1874. Suspension of the Bank of Spain (*see above*).

1875. August 3rd. The banks of Peru suspended coin payment of their issues.

1876. May 6th. Argentina. General suspension of all the banks. Gold coins 30 per cent. premium in "redemption" notes; since increased to 250 per cent. premium.

1878. City of Glasgow and West of England banks stopped coin payments.

1890. Baring Brothers, one of the principal bankers and the largest bill-drawers in the world, stopped payment. This caused a wide-spread panic, in which numerous banking institutions fell both in England and other countries.

1891. The demands on the Bank of England caused the public discussion of a "Restriction Order," or suspension of the Bank Act. The crisis was allayed by the timely loan of £3,000,000 gold from the Bank of France, influenced by the Rothschilds.

1891. Bank of Portugal stopped coin payments of its issues.

## APPENDIX C.

### THE GOLD MOVEMENT OF 1865-73 AND EXISTING MONETARY SYSTEMS.

**F**RANCE and the *Latin Union*.—A conference between “the four states whose monetary system rests on a numeration by francs,” viz. France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy, resulted in the Latin Monetary Union of December 23rd, 1865, taking effect August 1st, 1866. It provided for uniform coins; the unlimited private coinage of gold coins and of silver 5-franc pieces, both 0·900 fine, both to be full legal-tenders; and for a restricted coinage of subsidiary silver pieces 0·835 fine with a legal-tender limit of 50 francs. “Unlimited private coinage for nothing, or at brassage, logically means one metal, and that one metal means the dearer one, on account of the higher *ad valorem* cost of (not the charge for) coining the cheaper one. Accordingly, when the international delegates met again (June 17th, 1867), although the convention was called ostensibly only to unify the coinages, it discussed the entire monetary question, and, as the natural result of a discussion which omitted all reference to the origin, history, and operation of the British Act of 1666, carried a resolution in favour of what is called gold monometallism.”<sup>1</sup> This resolution was soon afterwards engrafted upon the legislation of the States which agreed to the Latin Union, in the shape of a *New Mint Code*, which now (1867) included the States of the Church, Greece, and Roumania; whilst efforts were made to popularise it in Great Britain, Germany, and the United States.<sup>2</sup> In 1873, after the Franco-Prussian war (and, as it was pretended, in reply to the gold monometallic legislation of Germany), France and the Latin Union limited the coinage of silver five-franc pieces. In 1878 they closed their mints to the private coinage of such pieces, without, however, limiting the legal-tender of the pieces already coined. The net result of these measures is that at the present time (1895) nearly all the gold of the various Latin Union

<sup>1</sup> “Money and Civilisation,” p. 275, where a full account appears of the origin and progress of this movement.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 276-7.

states is accumulated in France. There is but little in Belgium or Roumania, and none in Switzerland, Italy, or Greece; the currency of these states consisting chiefly of paper notes and silver or subsidiary coins. On the other hand, the currency of France consists of gold and silver coins and Bank of France notes, backed by a reserve consisting of £70,000,000 gold and £50,000,000 silver, coined at  $15\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 gold. The gold reserves of the Bank are substantially a war-fund.

*Germany.*—The gold movement of 1866 is described on p. 400. On October 20th, 1868, a commercial convention was held in Berlin, at which were represented 119 German cities. The subject of money was discussed at length; and although not the slightest reference was made to the origin, history, or operation of Private Coinage, a resolution in favour of that measure was adopted in the following words:—"Res. 3. Monetary unity, and at the same time such a general monetary reform as befits the age, can be brought about by the simultaneous adoption by all the German States of the single standard with full application of the decimal system, in pursuance of the principles recommended by the International Monetary Conference at Paris in its Report of July 6th, 1867."<sup>1</sup> Private Coinage is involved in the term "single standard," which, like "double standard," "bimetallism," etc., implies that metal is money; whereas this can only even seemingly be the case when Private Coinage is permitted. The military events of 1870 led to the imperial federalisation of the German States, April 16th, 1871. On December 4th, 1871, an Act was passed which provisionally established the "double standard" at  $15\frac{1}{2}$ ; stopped the further Private Coinage of full legal-tender silver, without demonetising or retiring such of these coins (thalers) as had already been coined; ordered a new coinage of gold pieces of full legal-tender; and made provision, without setting a time, for the retirement of the thalers whenever the Chancellor of the Empire *should see fit*. By the Act of July 9th, 1873, definite provision was made for the establishment of the "gold standard," not without leaving the door open to the renewal of the "double standard," should such a policy be deemed expedient. This was done by permitting the thaler silver coins to remain in circulation as full legal-tenders, at three marks each. A similar prudential measure, that of trusting the Executive with the power to alter these enactments, was incorporated in the British Monetary Law of 1816. The power granted by Congress to the American Executive—that of exercising the option to make payments out of the Treasury in either gold or silver coins—is of quite a different character. The German Act of 1873 suspended the Pri-

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<sup>1</sup> "Mon. and Civ.," p. 276.



vate Coinage of silver. All new silver coins were limited in tender to 20 marks. All old silver coins were called in, melted down, and sold as bullion. At the present time the currency consists of gold and silver coins and bank notes, in the proportions shown on a previous page. The gold at Spandau and a portion of the reserve held by the Bank, is substantially a war-fund.

*Great Britain.*—In 1774 (14 George III, c. 42), in consequence of the prevalence of light or underweighted silver coins, they were limited in tender to £25. This was continued by various Acts down to 1797, in which year (38 George III, c. 59) the private coinage of silver was suspended for eleven months. The Act of 1816 (56 George III, c. 68) was passed during a suspension of coin payments (except of such minor coins as were issued or countermarked by the Bank of England, for an account of which see *ante*). By this Act the mints were closed to the private coinage of silver, and all silver coins, whether light or heavy, were limited in tender to 40s. In section 9 it was provided that “from and after such day as shall be named and appointed in and by any proclamation which shall be made and issued for that purpose by or on behalf of his Majesty, by and with the advice of his Majesty’s Privy Council,” such legislation might be revoked. Down to 1870 no such proclamation was ever issued. In that year a *New Mint Code* was enacted, section 11 of which provided that her Majesty, “with the advice of her Privy Council from time to time by proclamation (may) do all or any of the following things, namely, to regulate any matters relative to the coinage and the mint *within the present prerogative of the Crown*, which are not provided for by this Act.” Whether the present prerogative of the Crown still leaves it the power to revoke the silver demonetisation of 1816 has been questioned, but there is no mistaking the identity of that golden thread which runs through the Latin Union Mint Codes of 1865, the German proposal of 1866, followed by the Mint Code of 1871, the British Mint Code of 1870, and, as will presently be seen, the new Mint Codes of the United States and numerous other countries enacted soon afterwards. It is of precisely *the same tissue* in all of them. The present currency of Great Britain consists of gold (full tender) and silver coins (limited tender) and Bank of England notes of £5 and upward. These last are full legal-tenders, except from the Bank itself.

*Portugal and Brazil.*—It was largely through the working of the Methuen Treaty (1703) that Portugal in 1854 copied the British system of 1816, suspended the Private Coinage of silver, limited the legal-tender of silver coins to five milreis, and ostentatiously declared the British sovereign a full legal-tender in Portugal. These regulations should never have been made. Neither before

nor since their enactment have gold payments been customary in Portugal. This is proved by the course of exchange between Lisbon and London. The actual legal tender was called "lei," and it consisted of a fixed proportion of coins, chiefly silver and copper, and of paper notes.<sup>1</sup> Such few gold coins as were formerly included in "lei" have since disappeared from the country. At present legal-tender is made altogether in the inconvertible paper notes issued by the Bank of Portugal. These, together with subsidiary coins, form the actual currency of the State. The monetary situation in Brazil is somewhat similar; nor has the commerce of either country suffered any harm in consequence. The foreign merchants of Lisbon and Rio Janeiro keep their accounts in £. s. d., quote the local paper money at a discount, and wear tall black hats in midsummer. Certain of these circumstances are gravely set forth in the Report of the Director of the United States Mints for 1894, as though they had to do with the monetary systems of Portugal and Brazil. In like manner the Chinese merchants of San Francisco keep their accounts in taels, mace, and candareen, in which they mark the fluctuations of American gold, and wear plaited pigtaails all the year round. Such is their pleasure; but as yet it has not been observed to have had any marked effect upon the monetary system of the United States of America.

*Scandinavia.*—On September 20th, 1872, a monetary union was adopted by Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, which was followed by a *New Mint Code*, whose provisions took effect in 1873 and 1875. Under this code the private coinage of silver was suspended, and the legal-tender of silver coins limited to five "specie riksdalers." At the present time the currency consists chiefly of silver coins and bank notes.

*Japan.*—In 1872 this state adopted a *New Mint Code*, forbade the Private Coinage of silver, limited the legal-tender of silver yens or dollars and of all minor coins, and adopted what is known as "the gold standard." In 1878 and 1879, after "the gold standard" had duly departed from the country, the full legal-tender of silver coins was restored and Private Coinage again permitted. In 1883 a public loan issued in Japan was made specifically payable in silver coins. In 1894 the Private Coinage of silver was again suspended.<sup>2</sup> The currency is entirely of silver coins and bank notes.

*United States of America.*—In March, 1869, Mr. Robert Schenck, better known in connection with the Emma mine and the author of a handbook on the game of "poker," secured the passage of a bill

<sup>1</sup> "Món. and Civ.," p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> London "Times," January 28th, 1895.

which made the debt of the United States, at that time nominally about £600,000,000, payable in "coins," though much of it had been contracted in and all of it sold for "greenbacks" at an average of 40 cents to the dollar or 8s. to the pound. The steps will now be described by which the debt was soon after practically made payable in gold "coins" only. This was done by demonetising silver. To begin with, the *New Mint Code* of February 12th, 1873, c. 131, destroyed the Private Coinage of silver by indirection, in omitting the word "dollar" from the empowering clause relating to silver coins. After this, in codifying the Statutes generally, December 1st, 1873, sec. 3586, the Code Commissioners made an unauthorised and unwarranted alteration of the law by limiting the legal-tender of "all" silver coins, including the outstanding silver dollars, which, together with Spanish silver dollars, had been full legal-tenders since the foundation of the Republic. Both of these Acts (of 1873) were passed during a suspension of coin payments, and without eliciting public attention. The Monetary Commission of 1876 reported that the Mint Code of February 12th, 1873, was "not read except by title;" that President Grant, who signed it, "had no knowledge of what it really accomplished in relation to the demonetisation of silver," as was evinced by his public letter of October 3rd, 1873; and that the design of demonetisation was (afterwards) completed by an obscure provision of law upon an erroneous assurance from the Committee on Revision of the Statutes.<sup>1</sup> This surreptitious legislation was not discovered, nor did it attract public attention until 1875-6. In 1878 (Bland Act) the full legal-tender of silver dollars was restored, but not Private Coinage. Under the rulings of the Secretary of the Treasury the legal tender of silver dollars has been so far rendered nugatory that all demands upon the Treasury have been met in gold coins. Minor silver coins (half-dollars, quarters, and dimes), coined only by and for account of the Government, had been limited in legal-tender to five dollars since 1853. With regard to the demonetisation of silver which was accomplished by the two Acts of 1873, Mr. Carlisle, since Secretary of the Treasury, said in the House of Representatives, February 21st, 1878, "The conspiracy which seems to have been formed here and in Europe to destroy by legislation and otherwise from three-sevenths to one-half of the metallic money of the world, is the most gigantic crime of this or any other age. The consummation of such a scheme would ultimately entail more misery upon the human race than all the wars, pestilences, and famines that ever occurred in the history of the world."<sup>2</sup> It will be observed that in every monetary

<sup>1</sup> Report, pp. 89-90. <sup>2</sup> Frewen, in "National Rev.," Dec., 1893.

convention which followed that of 1865 the professed object was the unification of money, whilst the one actually accomplished was the demonetisation of silver; that in every case the means employed was indirection and secrecy; and that the vehicle used was always a *New Mint Code*. Mr. John Jay Knox, one of the officials who in 1870 (April 27th) lent his assistance to the preparation of the American Mint Code, when the matter was brought home to him acknowledged his part in it, and boasted that he was "proud of his work."<sup>1</sup> No one will begrudge him the distinction it confers. The net result of this measure upon the American currency is that it now consists chiefly of silver dollars and paper notes; gold coins, except in the mining States of the Far West, being seldom seen in circulation. The Treasury continues to pay gold money by borrowing it from time to time upon new issues of Government bonds. This is precisely the policy laid down in the British Mint Code of April 4th, 1870, section 9. Owing to the limitations placed upon the silver and paper issues of the United States, and to the readiness of the American Treasury to pay gold money on demand, gold coins command no premium.

*Holland.*—The laws of May 21st, 1873, and June 6th, 1875, suspended the Private Coinage of silver, and limited the legal-tender of silver coins to ten florins. The currency is now chiefly of silver coins and paper notes.

*Italy.*—Under a renewal of the Latin Monetary Union dated January 31st, 1874, and the law of July 17th, 1875, the Crown suspended the Private Coinage of silver, and limited the legal-tender of silver coins to 50 lira. To maintain those payments in gold coins to which it had committed itself, the State afterwards borrowed £16,000,000 in gold, all of which, together with what gold was previously in the kingdom, has since disappeared, leaving the State pledged to pay in gold, without any gold with which to pay. The circulating money of Italy now consists entirely of subsidiary silver and copper coins and of paper issues, gold commanding a premium of 5 to 10 per cent. in paper.

*Spain.*—The Republic of 1868 (Figuerola Law, October 19th) was induced to copy the provisions of the Latin Monetary Union so far as to adopt gold coins for unlimited money, and to limit the legal-tender of silver coins. These regulations survived the Republic, the monarchy of Amadeo, 1870, the restoration of the Republic in 1874, and the restoration of the monarchy (Alfonso) in 1875. The law of August 20th, 1876, suspended the Private Coinage of silver, except as to metal produced by the mines of Spain. This last-named provision

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<sup>1</sup> London "Economist," December 26th, 1885.



has since been abrogated, whilst the suspension of Private Coinage continues. But its gold having left the country, the State was obliged to reinvest the silver pesos (five-peseta or five-franc pieces) with full legal-tender power, which attribute they now enjoy. The minor silver coins are limited in legal-tender to ten pesos. The currency consists entirely of silver coins and Bank of Spain notes, in which gold coins command a premium of about 20 per cent.

*Russia*.—The law of November 13—25, 1876, adopted gold coins as sole full legal-tenders, and reduced the legal-tender of silver coins to 5 roubles 15 copeks, no Private Coinage of silver being permitted.<sup>1</sup> The result of these measures has been that gold coins are at a premium of 50 per cent., while the currency consists entirely of subsidiary silver coins and Bank of Russia notes. The gold held by the bank does not enter the circulation, and is substantially a war-fund.

*Austro-Hungary*.—The decree of March, 1879, suspended the Private Coinage of silver, but did not limit the legal-tender of silver coins.<sup>2</sup> The law of 1892 ordered the discontinuance of the coinage of four and eight gulden (gold) pieces, and substituted the gold kroners of 0.304878 grammes, or 4.7 English grains fine, equal in legal value to half a florin—a nominal step toward uniformity with the franc system, because the real money of the country consists, and has consisted for a long period, only of subsidiary silver coins and paper notes. The Private Coinage of kroners is not permitted, so that the State has largely resumed the prerogative of coinage. The ratio between the kroners and the silver coins is 13.69 for 1. Provision has also been made for a foreign gold loan of £40,000,000, with which *it is stated* to be the intention of the government to make gold payments in kroners, as sole full legal-tenders.

*Turkey*.—No Private Coinage is permitted in this State. In 1882 full legal-tender was limited to gold coins, but, except as to Constantinople and some other large cities, and except as to customs duties, the “*beshtlik*” system of silver coins (0.830 fine) has since been substantially restored. A full account of “*beshtlik*” money will be found in “*Money and Civilisation*,” chap. xix. The present currency consists of “*beshtlik*” silver, together with paper notes.

*British India*.—An order in Council, dated 23rd June, 1893, suspended the Private Coinage of silver, but otherwise made no important change in the monetary system. Silver rupees therefore remain full legal-tenders for all purposes and any amount. These

<sup>1</sup> “*Money and Civilisation*,” pp. 314, 320.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 340.

and the note issues of the Currency Department constitute the currency of the country.

*China.*—The currency of this State consists of bronze coins. In 1834 silver was surreptitiously coined at Fukien, and a few years later in Canton, as well as in the district of Shunlik, south of Canton. These issues, however, have since disappeared. The only lawful moneys of the Empire are the familiar bronze “tchen” or “chuen.” These, the sixteenth century Portuguese called sapecas, and the English now call cash. One thousand of these make, in value, a tael of (bronze) money. In a mediæval Chinese scale of equivalents a tael of money meant a tael (coin) of silver, which coin contained something like what is now known as a tael weight of silver. But the tael of 1000 chuen has no longer any relation to silver. The present cash system would resemble that of the Roman nummular system of B.C. 369 mentioned in Chap. V. but for the fact that the Roman nummi were limited and overvalued, whilst cash, at all events at present, do not command more than their value as metal. There is another and still more important difference; the Chinese cash are open to Private Coinage, but the Roman nummi were not. The fall in value of the Chinese cash is due either to over-issues or to counterfeiting. The cash of to-day should each weigh 54·7 English grains. (8 to the avoirdupois ounce), and contain 54 per cent. of copper, 42 $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. zinc, and 3 $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. lead, but they vary in composition according to the mineral or metallic resources of the various provinces in which they are cast. In the early part of the present century the annual authorised or reported issues of chuen seem to have been about 1,200,000,000, worth 1,200,000 money taels.<sup>1</sup> In 1865 the authorised or reported issues were 2,460,000,000 chuen, worth 2,460,000 money taels,<sup>2</sup> but this may have been an exceptional year. In certain provinces, and for periods of ten, fifteen, or twenty years, the authorised issues of chuen have been entirely suspended.<sup>3</sup> The unauthorised coinage and the counterfeiting of cash are made capital offences; <sup>4</sup> but none of these regulations are believed to be strictly observed.

Several efforts have been made by the Imperial government to supersede the chuen system, which, since the decline of the symbols to their metallic value, has ceased to possess any merit beyond that of non-exportability. These efforts have hitherto been without success, the obstacle in the way being Private Coinage and the profit and power which it confers.

<sup>1</sup> “H. M. A.,” p. 41; “Chinese Repository,” ii, p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. S. W. Bushell, in “Journ. N. C. Branch of Royal Asiatic Soc.,” 1880, N.S., No. xv.

<sup>3</sup> “H. M. A.,” p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 37.

In 1845 (Opium war) the Emperor Taoukwang caused silver dollars to be cast at Hangehow and Formosa. They were called Soldiers' Pay, a name that indicates their use. These were afterwards so cleverly imitated in base metal by the private coiners that they lost credit and disappeared from circulation. In 1853 (Taiping Rebellion), owing to the scarcity of copper, large issues of iron chuen were made, but these were soon rendered useless by the abundance of counterfeits, an industry in which, odd to relate, the so-called Buddhist (really Taoist) monks made themselves prominent. Popular dissatisfaction with these coins gave rise to some disturbance at Peking in 1857. With poetic justice they are now only used for pious offerings at Taoist shrines. During the Taiping rebellion the rebel Emperor (Hun-seu-tseun) issued silver coins, with the legend "Sacred money of the Tai'ping."<sup>1</sup> These, of course, have disappeared. At the same time the imperial government (1852, or third year of Hieng-fung) issued two classes of paper notes: first, to represent the bronze chuen; second, to represent Shanghai taels of silver bullion: the relation between them being 2000 chuen for one Shanghai tael of bullion; in other words, two money taels of coined chuen for one tael weight of uncoined silver. For some unexplained reason (probably foreign counterfeiting) the chuen notes fell in 1861 (first year of T'oung-che) to 3 per cent. of their face value, or 97 per cent. discount. In 1880 they were only worth 10 per cent. of their face value, or 90 per cent. discount. Being receivable, as recited on their face, "for the purchase of titles of rank," they retained some value on account of this ignoble function. The fate of the silver notes has not been related, but they probably fell from the same cause—forgery by foreigners. After these unsuccessful experiments the monetary system relapsed into its previous condition, namely, that of bronze coins, reduced by excessive issues, or else successful counterfeiting, to their commodity value; and such is the system to-day. In 1887 certain Chinese officials ordered a number of coin presses from Birmingham. These are employed at the present time (1895) by the viceroys of Kwang-tung (Canton) and other provinces in striking silver coins for soldiers' pay; but as yet the introduction of silver money into China has been comparatively limited. It is, however, going on at an accelerated rate.

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<sup>1</sup> This pretender was born at Quang-si about 1815, died by suicide at Nanking, June 30th, 1864. "He announced himself as the restorer of the worship of the true god, Shang-ti, . . . the brother of Jesus, and the second Son of God." Besides the name of Hun-seu-tseun, he assumed that of Tien-teh, or Celestial Virtue, besides many others (Haydn).

Large sums of money—and at the Treaty ports, and with or amongst foreigners, all sums—are stipulated to be paid in foreign silver coins, or in silver bullion measured by the tael weight, of which there are several local varieties, the most popular being the Shanghai “currency tael.” This consists of a Shanghai or Chauping tael weight (565·7 English grains) of ingot silver,  $\frac{1}{12}$  fine, equal to 518·56 grains fine silver, or  $1\cdot39\frac{2}{3}$  American silver dollars, mint value. This tael is identical in weight with the European silver talent, thaler, or ducaton of the mediæval ages, and may have had the same origin. It is in this silver bullion (called shoo, from the shape of the ingots, and sycee, from their standard of fineness) that the recent Chinese 7 per cent. customs mortgage silver loan was effected in London and Berlin, the exchange rate paid by the subscribers being 3s. English gold coin per Shanghai tael. Besides the proceeds of this loan and a few million taels deposited in banking-houses or private hoards, there is no silver money or bullion available for money in the Chinese empire. The seven hundred and fifty million dollars’ worth of silver in China reported by the Director of the United States Mints (Report, 1894, p. 45) evinces the prodigious fertility of this gentleman’s imagination, but has not the remotest relation to fact, the metallic currency of China consisting substantially of copper symbols.

*Argentine Republic.*—The law of September 29th, 1875, authorised the Private Coinage of gold, admitted certain foreign gold coins to full legal-tendership, limited the legal-tender of silver coins to twenty dollars, and forbade the Private Coinage of silver. Eight months afterwards (May 16th, 1876) the government bank suspended coin payments, and gold coins rose to a premium of 30 per cent., since increased to about 250 per cent. The currency of the country is entirely of inconvertible paper and minor coins.

*Chili.*—Under the law of January 9th, 1851, the gold peso contained 21·1845 English grains fine, and the silver peso 347·22 grains fine metal, a ratio of about 16·4 for 1. The contents of these coins were repeated in the law of November 26th, 1892, which stopped the Private Coinage of silver, limited the legal-tender of silver pesos to 10 pesos, and (the actual money of the country consisting entirely of inconvertible notes and small change coins) provided for “resumption” on July 1st, 1896, in gold coins, at double their previous value in silver coins—a ratio of 32·8 for 1. On January 29th, 1895, the Senate passed an Act for the redemption of the paper currency on June 1st, 1895, at the rate of about 18*d.* English gold to the paper peso; but this Act yet awaits the approval of the Chamber of Deputies and the purchase of gold wherewith to make such payments, there being no gold coins in the country. The



British sovereign, formerly legal-tender for five pesos, is now legal-tender for ten pesos; but this and all other enactments encouraging the currency of gold coins are as yet little more than dead letter.

From the foregoing *résumé* it will be observed that the practical political outcome of the Gold Movement of 1865-73 has been to concentrate the gold coins of the world in the coffers of four or five of the principal States, and that the currency of the remainder consists entirely, or chiefly, of silver coins and paper notes.

## CORRIGENDA.

## PAGE LINE

- 22 25 For "Chapter XX" read "Appendix A."  
 68 28 After "when" insert "the latter are."  
 77 33 Strike out the word "of."  
 116 37 For "*Moumenim*" read "*Moumenin*."  
 117 17 For "they are sueldos," read "it is a sueldo."  
 117 39 For "wrote" read "is responsible for."  
 126 30 For "*contena*" read "*centena*."  
 126 33 For "H. S." read "IIS."  
 127 22 For "*argentum semper*" read "in tributo argentum."  
 128 6 For "*scylates*" read "*scyphates*."  
 130 22 For "single" read "double."  
 137 37 and p. 149, line 32. For "*chronicum*" read "*chronicon*."  
 140 20 For "onset" read "outset."  
 157 32 The first quotation marks should precede the word "De."  
 160 last The last quotation marks should follow "Londoniæ."  
 183 37 For "*monnais*" read "*monnaies*."  
 222 23 After "rounding" insert "or else to its heretical stamp."  
 228 33 After "in" insert "Moslem money or else in."  
 228 33 After "£. s. d." insert "or other moneys."  
 230 7 For "*scalum*" read "*scalam*."  
 301 Here some confusion is caused by the mingling of two memoranda in the MS. The quarter-dinar, or gold shilling of the note, is meant to be the same with that of the text, namely, 16 grains. The transaction mentioned relates to Ethelred, year 991.  
 353 34 For "*liberatis*" read "*libertatis*."  
 353 36 Strike out "on the other."



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## LIST OF MR. DEL MAR'S WRITINGS,

*to be read in connection with the lists printed at the end of the author's previous works.*

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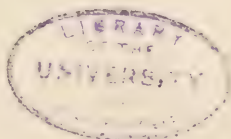
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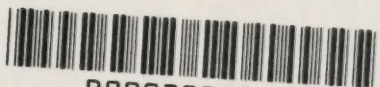
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